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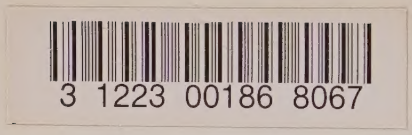
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T. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

BY

S. A. WARNER, M.A. (Oxon)

HOR OF "CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL," "OXFORD CATHEDRAL,"
"LINCOLN COLLEGE," ETC.

Illustrations in Line are by the Author

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PREFACE

PERHAPS another book upon St. Paul's seems at first ght somewhat unnecessary, but the opinion is ven- ured that here within these covers will be found a eneral account of this famous building which will pply the average inquirer with much of the in- rmation he needs and, what is better, will tell him - her where still more can be obtained in detail. t this time of day the production of much original atter is very difficult because the immense re- arches of the late Dr. W. Sparrow Simpson have overed so wide a field and with such minuteness at no writer, least of all the present author, can pe either to improve upon his work or produce y account of St. Paul's without owing a very great bt to that mine of information. The author would e to express his grateful thanks to the Dean and hapter for free access to all parts of the Cathedral, r taking photographs and making drawings, and for ind permission to reproduce sundry illustrations ; so to his friend, Mr. W. G. Allen, Secretary o the late Commission upon St. Paul's, and now ssistant Surveyor under Mr. Mervyn E. Macartney, ho has very kindly looked through Chapter III,

the first half of Chapter VII, and generously given most valuable hints and information upon architectural points ; to the Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A., Hon. Minor Canon and author of the Official Guide, who has helped to keep the writer upon correct lines ; and finally to Mr. William Skinner, the ever courteous and patient Dean's Verger, who has nobly stood the fire of innumerable questions and without whose willing help at all times, coupled with that of other members of the staff, the writer's task would indeed have been formidable.

The author is also glad to acknowledge with thanks the very kind permission of the following bodies to reproduce illustrations from their possessions as follows: the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, for many views from their collection of photographs taken by a late verger of the Cathedral ; the Society of Antiquaries, a rare engraving of the Cathedral ; the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford, the " Warrant Design " ; Publishers of the " Builder," both for the ground plan and for the excellent section through the dome ; the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the bust of Wren ; Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., the interior of Wren's first design from Mr. W. Longman's " History of the Three Cathedrals of St. Paul " ; Messrs. Macmillan & Co., the portrait of Dean Colet from J. R. Green's illustrated " History of the English People " ; the Keeper of the MSS., British Museum, the illustration

m page 11 ; and Artists Illustrators, Ltd. (D. Macbeth, Esq.), their photograph of Gybson's printing evice. To the writers mentioned in the bibliography the author is, of course, very heavily ndebted, but in a book handling so much detail it obviously quite impossible to acknowledge the ource of every separate item, and the willing admison of his obligation to these authorities must of ecessity take a general form.

At the extreme end of this book will be found a tachable condensed guide, which is intended to ve the carrying about of a bulky volume, and to rve the purpose of a visitor who wishes to see what here is to see in as short a space of time as possible —a most reprehensible practice !

S. A. W.

1926.

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St. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"LET us go to St. Paul's!" How often is that said by a visitor from a distant Dominion back again in the Old Country for a time! How often, too, on the lips even of one from no further away than somewhere on this little island! It seems to have an extraordinary attraction for all and sundry who find themselves in what English people feel to be the hub of the Universe. And is such an attraction surprising when all the conditions are considered? Here, next to the two metropolitical Sees, is the Cathedral of the premier diocese in the country and of the biggest and richest city in the world, both Cathedral and city with an agelong and wonderful history behind them only to be matched perhaps, but not surpassed, by the capital of the country just the other side of the Channel. True, the Cathedral is modern as such buildings go, and it lacks, it must be confessed, that sense of mystery which is generally expected in such places, but, on the other hand, it is essentially a reflection of its period, for as Dean Inge has said, "There was no mysticism and not much poetry about the contemporaries of Charles II and Queen Anne." Nor must

it be forgotten that it is on a site hallowed for more than a thousand years, and is itself of a type unique among our home cathedrals—the product of the brain and genius of a single Englishman.

But the attraction is not, or should not be, solely that of the material form, magnificent yet gracious though the dome may be, for this building speaks of something of the Spirit, a perpetual tribute to, and reminder to the passer-by of, Almighty God, in whose honour it was erected. It stands on its little hill above the river, high over the crowded warehouses and streets teeming with a restless, busy humanity, pointing always to something eternal beside which all our stress and turmoil here are as nothing. And if it stands for so great a purpose it does so in no inarticulate fashion, for, whatever may have been its failings in past days, it has revived under the inspiration of men like Dean Church and Dean Gregory to give of its best in service and in music, in prayer and praise. " In all time of our tribulation : in all time of our wealth," be the occasion that of mourning and sorrow, or of thanksgiving and joy, it is to St. Paul's, the " parish church of the British Empire," as Canon Alexander has it, that the nation instinctively turns wherein to express its deepest feelings at such a moment.

" Let us go then to St. Paul's ! " not out of mere idle curiosity, nor for the reason which prompted a gentleman, so he said, to go there to get his interest in science directly stimulated by viewing the dome, in which a pea shooting about has been said to have been likened by Sir Oliver Lodge to the motion of an electron about the atom nucleus ! Let us go

rather to try and grasp something of the great genius of Sir Christopher Wren and of that for which his wonderful building stands.

London experiences many fogs, and we must make a start by diving into one that has been made not by the humble chimney-pot, but by the would-be historian of earlier days. Not that space allows, nor indeed does the subject require a detailed relation of the ancient myths which pass for the beginnings of its history. From a jumble of legends names emerge here and there. Brutus the Trojan, who was said to have been induced to come here owing to a vision from Diana, who called the place Troy-novant, and fought Gogmagog the giant twelve cubits high, breaking three of his ribs! Belin, the son of Dunwallo Molmutius, reputed to be the first King of Britain, and to have built a quay down by the river which he called Belin's Gate and supposedly corrupted by us to the even more suggestive name of Billingsgate! King Lucius and King Lud—mere names—the former said to be the founder of the See of London in 179, the latter strangely surviving where more honourable and authentic titles have long since disappeared. To those who would know more of these various heroes and their imaginary histories, the writer would recommend the reading of his history of the Britons by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who will there give them full measure, pressed down and running over, of what their soul desires. Nor can we any the better hold the much more picturesque and interesting legend of the visit

of Joseph of Arimathea and St. Paul himself, despite the flowering thorn at Glastonbury and the dedication of this Cathedral.

Indeed it is only in connexion with the Romans that we begin at all to touch the historical terra firma. It is thought that it was Aulus Plautius who, in A.D. 43, first pitched his camp on the site of London and fortified it as an eminently strategic position. Tacitus makes a reference to it as a place of merchants, and that a camp with possibly a rough place for religious worship would naturally be placed on a hill such as that whereon St. Paul's now stands seems undoubtedly reasonable. How far it is certain that the Romans put up a temple to Diana, the huntress, is another matter. An altar to this goddess was dug up in 1830 on the site of the Goldsmith's Hall, some two or three hundred yards away, and an image of the same deity was found during the seventeenth century hard by the deanery, so that such a thing need not be thought an impossibility ; and it may equally be a matter of uncertainty as to whether the heaps of animals' bones discovered by Wren were or were not the remains of pagan sacrifices.

Our knowledge as to the prevalence of Christianity in these early days is scanty. Tertullian, in the second century, refers to the British Church as having evidently made a good deal of headway, and in this he is supported by Origen some fifty or so years later. We have a record that one Restitutus, said to be Bishop of London, attended in 314 with other English prelates at the Council of Arles and that, about forty years after, British bishops were

associated with other Councils abroad, while a century later began the connexion with the Church of Gaul in an effort to counteract the heresy of Pelagius. But there are only a few names which flash out from the surrounding darkness before the fog settles down again, for there is no doubt that with the coming of the Saxons during the fifth century, the parts of England occupied by them reverted almost entirely to heathenism. We must not, however, go beyond that to believe that there were three metropolitan cities in England, each with its own temple dedicated to Woden, the god who corresponded to the Latin Mercury and was later on thought to be the patron of merchants, or that London's " Temple Triapolitan " afterwards became the Cathedral of St. Paul. When we reach the days of St. Augustine matters are getting clearer. Bede, in his Ecclesiastical History, gives us Pope Gregory's letter to St. Augustine, wherein the latter is bidden to consecrate twelve bishops who are to be subject to his jurisdiction " so that the Bishop of London shall, for the future, be always consecrated by his own synod, and that he shall receive the honour of the pall from this holy and apostolical See." The letter goes on to say that if the bishop to be sent to York is successful in his work, then he, too, shall be advanced to the dignity of a metropolitan subject to Canterbury, and then, after St. Augustine's death, York is to be " in no way subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. But for the future let this distinction be between the bishops of the cities of London and York, that he may have the precedence who shall be first ordained." Following

then upon this scheme, we get the first real foundation of St. Paul's Cathedral c. 603 by Ethelbert, King of Kent, and Mellitus, as we know, became practically the first Bishop of London and missionary to the East Saxons under their king, Sebert, nephew to Ethelbert. Not only did this last king found the Cathedral, but he also endowed it with the manor of Tillincgeham, or Tillingham, in Essex, a gift which has remained in the possession of the Dean and Chapter to this very day, and constitutes one of the longest unbroken tenures of land in the kingdom. It was for this reason that, in the commutation of all their property with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Tillingham was expressly held back as a matter of sentiment.

London's bishop, however, like many of his successors, found his children of the city difficult to manage, and so it ultimately came about that, on the death of Sebert, Mellitus had to flee away, for London relapsed into paganism and would have none of him again. How far he had been able to build a church of any quality we do not in the least know, but whatever it was, no doubt there was an end of it at his departure. Long gaps and uncertain names follow, the best known being that of Cedd, the brother of St. Chad of Lichfield, who is mentioned as being present in 664 at the Synod of Whitby. During the next three hundred years there is no outstanding personality except that of St. Erkenwald, *Christi lampas aurea*, said to have been the son of King Offa of Mercia and brother of St. Ethelburga, who ranks with and even surpasses Mellitus in his claim to be the patron saint of

London, and holds his feast on the last day of April. Sir I. Gollancz has made accessible to us that quaint poem of the fourteenth century (B.Mus. Harl. MS. 2250 f.72b) wherein the touching story of the saint and the unknown corpse is most graphically told. It would seem that when rebuilding a part of the church the workmen found a richly decorated tomb bearing an unreadable inscription and containing a corpse clad in gorgeous robes, and completely preserved. The bishop, who was in Essex at the time, visiting his new foundation of Barking nunnery, was hastily sent for, and on arrival had speech with the body, which said that in life he had been a true and just judge in New Troy under King Belin. Upon the bishop asking " What sayest thou of thy soul ? How is thy soul bestead if thou wroughtest so well ? " the corpse replied that he had unfortunately been a heathen—one of those who had not been rescued from Limbo. Everybody was so much overcome at this, that many wept, including the bishop himself, who, as he was turning away to get water wherewith to baptize the body, let fall by chance upon the corpse a solitary tear. Thereupon a cry of joy burst forth from the corpse, which said, " Blessed be thou, bishop, . . . the words that thou spakest and the tears of thine eyes have become my baptism," and forthwith the body crumbled into dust ! St. Erkenwald seems to have been the first bishop with his seat fixed at St. Paul's. He died in 693 and was buried here, but although supposed to be a protector from fire, does not seem to have exerted his power as much as he might in favour of his Cathedral. In 958 we meet the name of Dunstan, who is

so well known as hardly to need more than a passing notice, and then four years later comes the first of the many disastrous fires with which St. Paul's has been so often tortured. That is also one of the reasons why our knowledge of the Cathedral history at this period is so limited, comparatively few records having escaped these repeated conflagrations. However, we do know that King Ethelred II, the Redeless, was buried here in 1016 and a deed by Cnut, his successor, is preserved ratifying gifts of earlier kings, which shows that St. Paul's was attaining some importance. It is not improbable that this ratification by Cnut was obtained the more easily because he would remember that in this Cathedral lay the body of the good Archbishop Aelfege, murdered by the king's compatriots in 1012, and whose remains had been rescued by Aelfhun, Bishop of London, and Eadnoth, Bishop of Lincoln, and brought to St. Paul's; in addition to which it has been said that Cnut's conversion to Christianity may be attributed to the canons of this Cathedral.

The Conquest probably made little difference to St. Paul's, for its bishop, William, was already a Norman, who, in 1051, had displaced the Saxon, Sparhafoc, formerly Abbot of Abingdon. It is true that for some reason or other William was temporarily removed by the Conqueror, but he was afterwards suffered to return and was able later on to get special benefits conferred upon the citizens. His successor, Hugh de Orivalle, seems to have become a leper but, curiously enough, did not think it necessary to relinquish his bishopric. The earliest actual mention of the Cathedral as such occurs in

1075, when an important Church Council for the whole of England was held here at which were renewed the canons dealing with the rank of bishops and superstitious divinations and suchlike practices were forbidden, but we gather nothing as to the size or appearance of the building. Then in 1087 its great enemy, fire, levelled it to the ground, and was the cause of that church being put up with which we are more or less familiar from Hollar's drawings, and which shall be shortly described in the next chapter.

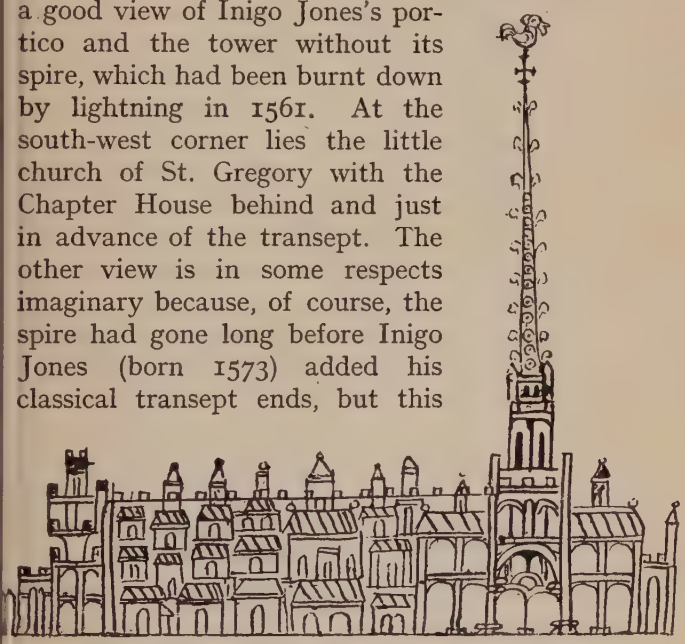
CHAPTER II

Old St. Paul's

ARCHITECTURE AND DETAILS

SUCH views as we may get of the earlier Cathedral show us a finely proportioned building of extraordinary length. It was at one time the longest church in Christendom, remarkable for a very lofty and graceful tower and spire at the crossing. Of this spire and its weathercock the city was inordinately proud, and if anything was done to it by way of repair the fact was almost certain to be included in one or other of the various chronicles which were written from time to time. In proof whereof a drawing is here reproduced from the bottom of fol. 17 in the Cottonian MS. Nero D, ii at the British Museum, which dates from the fourteenth century. Again we are told in 1461, " This yere the Egill on Poulis stepell was take downe for hit was broke, but whan hit shulde be set up ayene he that shulde have set it up fell downe and was dede and so another man was hired and sett up the Egyll the iii daye of Juyll." Thus the fifteenth century chronicle. The style of architecture was, of course, Norman, and early Norman at that, as can be well seen in Hollar's engraving of the nave (illus. opp. p. 24), from which we gather that the interior must have been a wonderful place instinct with

a dignity which seems only to come with architecture of that early date. Hollar's drawings of the exterior are not quite so accurate and can only be taken as giving a fair general idea. These are shown opp. p. 17, where we see the Cathedral from the south-west and at full length from the south. In the former we get a good view of Inigo Jones's portico and the tower without its spire, which had been burnt down by lightning in 1561. At the south-west corner lies the little church of St. Gregory with the Chapter House behind and just in advance of the transept. The other view is in some respects imaginary because, of course, the spire had gone long before Inigo Jones (born 1573) added his classical transept ends, but this



LONDON AND ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL (COTT: MS.)

picture gives a good view of the eastern arm which is of interest. The original Norman quire was not so long, its extent being probably marked on the plan by the extra wide eighth bay from the east. In 1222 it was felt that the time had come for an

enlargement at this end, due no doubt to the increasing consideration paid to Our Lady in this century, and so the little church of St. Faith which here nestled close up against the Cathedral was pulled down. An extension of the quire was completed by 1240, and this again was followed in 1255 by a further four bays to form a Lady Chapel which last, under Bishop Baldock, was paved by Adam le Marbrer with marble of "irreprehensible thickness and goodness." These additions, which included a magnificent rose window at the east end and which are always referred to as the "new work," and had a special guardian in charge of them, are what Hollar shows to us. They can also be seen very crudely portrayed in the Diptych belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, one wing of which is reproduced opp. p. 24 from the engraving by Stow. At the other end there has always been something of a doubt as to the existence of any western towers. They are often mentioned, notably in Foxe's "Acts and Monuments," the one to the south-west being known as the "Lollards' Tower" and used for the confinement of heretics, but no drawing in existence shows such towers nor have we any dimensions. Latimer, Tyndale, Philpot, and many others in the sixteenth century were imprisoned here and also in the bishop's coal house beneath the north-west tower. The attribution of this name of "Lollards' Tower" to one of those at Lambeth Palace is a mistake. In the illustration (opp. p. 17) it will be noticed that the clerestory of the nave shows slightly pointed windows, and must therefore have been added, or rebuilt, the best part of a century later.

At the time of the extension eastwards a large screen or "pulpitum" was placed on twelve steps under the eastern arch of the tower, with eight canopied figures on either side of the broad central opening into the quire. Sir W. H. St. John Hope has pointed out that secular canons were under orders to make considerable use of their "pulpita" for from them were to be read the lessons at Mattins, the Epistle and Gospel with singing of the "Gradual" on Sundays and great festivals, and various other minor lections. Of other details of the interior we have some scanty records. Chapels, whether chantry or otherwise, were numerous, and, apart from these, Dr. Simpson says that there are known to have been about thirty altars and possibly more in various parts of the Cathedral. Among others was a lofty chapel to St. Paul near the north-west pier of the central tower which had to be approached by a winding staircase. To these chapels were afterwards attached Gilds. Thus, in 1469, the gild of Minstrels was accommodated in the Lady Chapel and that of St. John Baptist near the north door, otherwise called Pulteney's Chapel after the famous and wealthy mayor (1348) of that name, was appropriated to the Merchant Taylors by a grant from Bishop Simon of Sudbury. Dr. Philip Norman, in "Archaeologia" (Vol. LXVII) tells us that it was in use so late as 1551, for in that year the Company's accounts have an entry of making "clean the Chapell at Polles against Christynmas." Again, the Gild of the Armourers was incorporated in the middle of the fifteenth century under the name of St. George, and it is possible that they worshipped

at the east end of the north quire aisle in St. George's Chapel there, known later on in the Commonwealth time as the Stone Chapel. Below in the crypt, or "Shrowdes" as it was called, was ample accommodation. At the extreme east end was the Jesus Chapel where the rich Brotherhood of Jesus, incorporated in 1457, assembled with the dean as their perpetual rector. To the west of this was the chapel of St. Faith, so called because, when the church of St. Faith was pulled down for the "new work," this portion of the Cathedral was set apart for the dispossessed parishioners who were composed mainly of stationers; whence Stow says:

> This church needs no repair at all
> For Faith's defended by St. Paul.

Here also, according to Dr. Simpson, worshipped the Gild of St. Anne, although in deed No. 513 among the archives they are given a chapel of that name to themselves.

Tombs and monuments were plentiful, and many no doubt very handsome, but it is rather surprising that there should have been no royal burial in so important a Cathedral after those of King Sebba and King Ethelred the Redeless. The nearest approach was that of John of Gaunt, d. 1399, "time-honoured Lancaster," with his wife Blanche, on the north side of the high altar, of which Dugdale gives us an illustration. An early and much respected grave was that of Bishop William the Norman, who obtained from his namesake the Conqueror its first charter of liberties for London. This was always duly visited every year by the City Fathers and

prayers offered on behalf of their benefactor. Similarly that of Bishop Roger Niger in the north quire aisle had many votaries, for he had been canonized, and his tomb reckoned a means for the working of mighty miracles. Among other bishops were those of Gilbert Foliot, Michael de Northburgh, the founder of the Charterhouse, who had himself buried outside the west door in token of humility, Thomas Kemp, rebuilder of Paul's Cross with a fine chantry chapel, and Robert Braybroke, a great reformer of abuses in his diocese. Deans were represented by Alexander Nowell, who died in his ninetieth year "neither dimm in his eyes or intellectuals," John Donne, referred to again later on, and John Colet, the famous founder of St. Paul's School, with his motto, "Learn to die to the world, learn to live to God." Laymen's tombs included a fine specimen in the cross-legged figure of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, in the south quire aisle, who, in 1310, had died at his town house still called Lincoln's Inn. Another recumbent figure was that of Sir John Beauchamp, Knight of the Garter, which in the people's mind became mixed up with their favourite Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, so that it was commonly said of any one who could not afford to pay for a meal and spent his time in the Cathedral instead, that he had been to "dine with Duke Humphrey!" Another popular error was that which attributed miracle-working powers to the tablet put up to the memory of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who had been beheaded by Edward II in 1322. This was more or less fostered by the canons who, in their never wavering dislike of

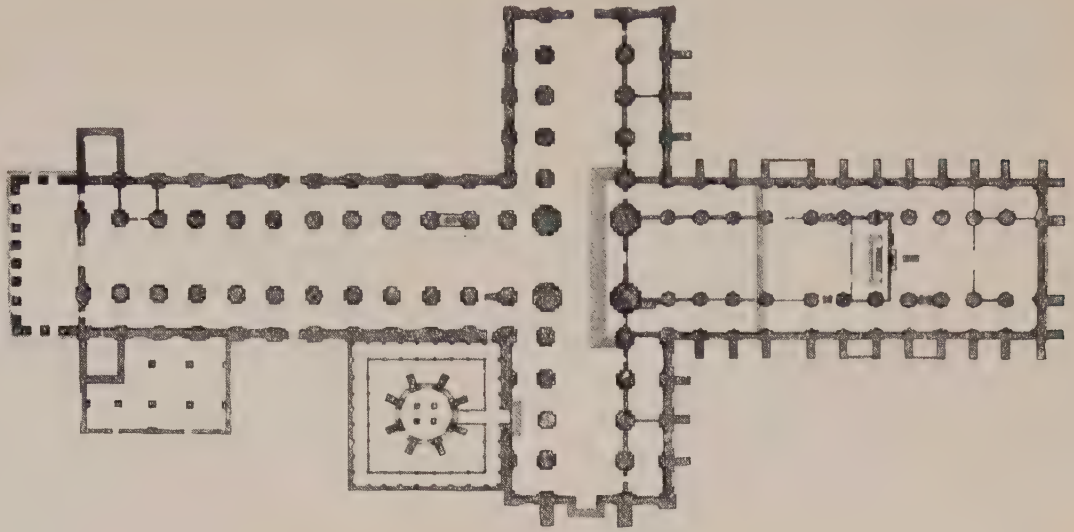
foreigners, were strongly in favour of the earl, who had done much to rid the country of the king's earlier Gascon favourites, although he himself was little more than an adventurer. They even went so far as to compile a special short service in his honour, but at last the cult became so general that the king wrote to the bishop ordering him to put a stop to the practice. Here also were buried a goodly number of later celebrities, including Thomas Linacre, the Greek scholar and physician, d. 1524, William, Earl of Pembroke, Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper, and Sir Christopher Hatton, the Lord High Chancellor, who " religiously expired " in 1591 and was here laid beneath an enormous and imposing tomb. Hard by were mural tablets to Sir Philip Sidney, " the flower of English poetry," who was killed at Zutphen, and Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's Secretary of State for seventeen years. Hence came the little distich :

> Philip and Francis have here no tomb
> Since great Sir Christopher hath all the room !

On Sidney's tablet were inscribed two verses, of which the first ran :

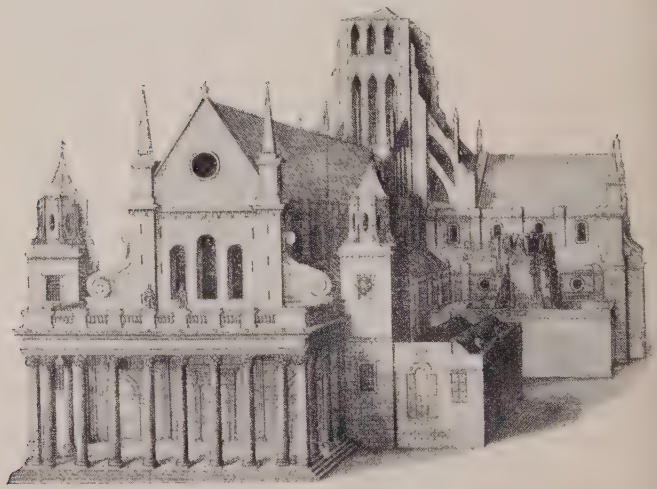
> England, the Netherlands, the Heavens, and the Arts,
> The Souldiers and the World have made six parts
> Of noble Sidney ; for none will suppose
> That a small heape of stones can Sidney enclose.

A little later came Charles I's great painter, Sir Anthony Vandyck, the forerunner of the many famous artists who have since found here a resting place, and finally one William Lambe, of no great note except as supplying a typical specimen of the



OLD ST. PAUL'S: GROUND PLAN (*Hollar*)

OLD ST. PAUL'S: SOUTH VIEW (*Hollar*)



OLD ST. PAUL'S: SOUTH-WEST VIEW (*Hollar*)

funeral inscription of that day, from which comes the following extract :

* * *

With wives three I joyned Wedlock Band
Which (all alive) true Lovers were to me,
JOANE, ALICE, JOANE ; for so they came to hand
What needeth Prayse regarding their Degree !

* * *

That at the Day, when Lambes and Goates shall sever
Of thy choice Lambes, Lambe may be one for ever !

In the matter of shrines, quite the most important was that of St. Erkenwald, who was looked upon as more or less the patron saint of London. In 1148 the body of the saint was transferred to a shrine behind the high altar, but by the fourteenth century this was thought to be of too little account, and so another and more costly tabernacle was made to which, in 1326, the body was again removed. Strangely enough, it was apparently thought necessary to make the translation at night to avoid a tumult with the people, a proceeding most contrary to the usual elaborate public ceremonies on such occasions. From time to time the shrine received valuable offerings from rich visitors, in 1357–8 three goldsmiths laboured for a year upon it embellishing it with statues and other ornaments, and finally, at the close of the century, it was surrounded with an iron grille as somewhat baldly portrayed in Dugdale's history.

Contrary to what might have been expected, the north side of the Cathedral seems to have been the most venerated part. This was probably due to the presence of the " Crux Borealis," or Rood of the

Northern, a crucifix with the attendant figures of St. Mary and St. John over the door of the north transept. This had a national reputation. Many offerings were made here, and it was quite a common thing for people to wish to be buried near by and to bequeath legacies to it, as, for example, Lady Scroop of the Yorkshire family who, in 1498, left to it " my herte of goolde wt a dyamaunt in the midds." Near the Beauchamp tomb was a large figure of the Blessed Virgin, before which a short service was said each morning, and which, perhaps, is the large statue in the Cathedral at Mondonedo, in Spain, called " La Inglesa " because it is said to have come from St. Paul's. Two rather strange things must be mentioned, although little light can be thrown upon them. Firstly, there was Canon Algar's Foot which, according to Mackenzie Walcott, was cut on a pillar to represent a standard measure for legal contracts relating to land. Dr. Simpson says he can find no authority for, or other mention of this peculiar thing. Algar, son of Deorman, was Canon of Islington in the time of Dean Ralph de Diceto, but whether his own foot was an outsize or whether the idea originated with him of setting up this standard which became called after him by way of compliment, we do not know. Secondly, the Brazen Pillar is referred to in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Stow and others and, according to Dr. Simpson, was the centre post to which the double doors of the great western entrance were fastened. " A greate tempest of wynde " occurred, according to the chronicle, in 1565, "and the great gattes at the weste ende of S. Pawls church in London wher

is the brasen pilar was blowne wyde open," and again we are told that when King James I visited the Cathedral in 1620 he " kneeled and prayed " by this pillar " for good Sucesse to his Pious intendment for her restauration," i.e. of St. Paul's.

The Cathedral also rejoiced in one or two strange saints who may, however, have been synonymous. In the crypt there was a chapel to St. Radegonde, who is not unknown as a French queen in the middle of the sixth century, and, above, in the church itself, we get references to St. Wilgeforte and St. Uncumber, the last of whom does not occur by name in the records. The peculiarity of the last mentioned was that, if a woman wished to get rid of her husband for any reason, the presentation of a handful of oats at her altar mysteriously brought about the desired result ! Something of the same sort seems to have been told in connexion with St. Wilgeforte, near whose statue, which stood close to the south-east tower pier, Dean Colet expressed a wish to be buried. The idea that these three saints may have been one and the same is confirmed by the miracle attributed to St. Radegonde, the wife of King Clothaire. Repelled by his brutality and cowardly murder of her brother, she obtained his leave to become a nun and fled to Bishop Médard of Noyon. Hearing that the king had changed his mind and was coming to fetch her back, the queen ran into the fields and, finding a peasant at work, bade him scatter a handful of oats upon the ground and tell the pursuing king that no one had passed by since the oats had grown up. This they did immediately, and came into full ear, thus concealing the queen and her companions !

The source of this story is to be found in the Apocryphal History of Our Lord, where the same legend is attributed to the Blessed Virgin during the Flight into Egypt.

It is to be regretted that there is so little known about what the Cathedral may have had in the way of stained glass. A solitary manuscript in the British Museum gives us thirty coats of arms, mostly of branches of the Royal family. From it we learn that the windows immediately above the tombs of John of Gaunt and William, Earl of Pembroke, had borders decorated with their respective arms, including three ostrich feathers for the former as being a Plantagenet. The only other piece of knowledge about the glass is that in 1620 three windows were put in depicting the life of St. Paul, probably at the expense of one William Parker, a citizen.

THE PRECINCTS

Turning now to the precincts of the old Cathedral, we will pass in review quite shortly the more important buildings with which it was surrounded. Starting at the north-west corner there was here situated the bishop's palace, stretching from Ave Maria Lane up to and including the present-day Chapter House and connected with the north-western tower of the Cathedral. Mr. H. W. Brewer was disposed to think that, in view of Rose Street and Ivy Lane, the grounds of the palace may have extended northwards of Paternoster Row, but this is not certain. Nothing remains to-day except the name London House Yard to call it to remembrance. No doubt, in its prime, it was a well-equipped abode. We know

that it had a great hall, a chapel on the first floor, and a tower with a cellar below for the imprisonment of heretics, to say nothing of courtyards and gardens—where a man gathering nuts one day fell down and broke his neck, as we are told—and an imposing entrance gate to which was affixed the Papal Bull in 1570 absolving her subjects from their allegiance to Elizabeth. It ceased to be used as a residence in the latter part of Bonner's episcopate. Immediately to the east was the passage-way leading across to the little north door part way down the nave of the Cathedral. This, together with a corresponding opening on the south side, was a somewhat unfortunate peculiarity in this church, for it led to the creation of a direct thoroughfare straight across the building provocative of much profanation and disturbance. Beyond this again came the Pardon Church Haugh, or burial place. A strange name, not altogether easy to explain. Haugh or Haw means an enclosure or yard and the word Pardon may, as Mr. Gilbertson suggests, refer to indulgences or pardons granted in return for visits there. In its midst was a chapel originally built by Gilbert Becket, the father of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and later on rebuilt by Dean Moor, surrounded by cloisters in which was depicted the famous Dance of Death or "Machabree," with verses translated by the monk, John Lydgate. This decoration, which was a copy of the example in Paris, was done at the expense of John Carpenter, the executor of the famous mayor, Dick Whittington, and founder of the City of London school. Herein Death as a skeleton was seen coming to people in all ranks of

life and walking away with them, an appropriate verse of summons by Death being written underneath, together with the victim's reply to point the moral. Even the king's juggler was not immune, for John Rikil is told :

> For al the sleights and turning of thine hond
> Thou must come nere my daunce to understond
> Nought may avail all thy conclusions
> For death shortly nother on sea ne lond
> Is not deceived by none illusions.

On the first floor of the eastern alley of the cloisters stood the library built, late in the first half of the fifteenth century, under the will of Walter Sheryngton, sometime Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Canon Stagiary (i.e. residentiary) of St. Paul's. Almost exactly a hundred years later these cloisters were demolished by the Protector Somerset to provide material for his new building known as Somerset House, but it is interesting to note that this otherwise unscrupulous man must have had apparently some respect for books, because Dugdale tells us that he spared the side of the cloisters on which this library stood. Still further to the east lay the College of Minor Canons (p. 140), and, on beyond, the Charnel Chapel and cemetery. In 1379 this chapel, being in a ruinous condition, was rebuilt by the citizens on an appeal from the archbishop, and here in the same year a Gild of All Souls was formed and allowed to worship. The advowson, perhaps given to them in return for their efforts, was in the gift of the Lord Mayor and aldermen, and Dr. Simpson tells us that in 1418 it was decided to give the chaplain annually at Christmas time " a gown . . . to the end that in

future he might the more promptly and the more watchfully interest himself in maintaining the same." This, too, was pulled down by the Protector Somerset, when a thousand cartloads of bones were removed to Finsbury Fields and laid in a marshy spot, as Dugdale says, "with so much soil to cover them as did raise the ground for three windmills to stand on. which have since been built there." In later days their memory was recalled by a Windmill Street near Finsbury Square. Here at the north-east corner of the Cathedral precincts stood the famous Paul's Cross, the place of meeting for all and sundry, whence were given out sermons, papal bulls, and proclamations of all kinds, and where trials of heretics and murderers were held and matters of national and municipal concern discussed and settled. Dr. Simpson says that it was probably in existence long before its first mention in 1241, and for many a day it played a most important part in the life of the citizens. By the end of the fourteenth century it had become dilapidated, and efforts were made to restore it but with what success we do not know. However, in his time, Thomas Kemp, Bishop of London, set to and restored it at his own expense, "as his arms in sundry places of its leaded cover doth manifest," says Dugdale, but it was not destined to last more than a couple of centuries. Its demolition is generally attributed to the Lord Mayor, Sir Isaac Pennington, in 1643, but Dr. Simpson produces evidence to show that it was apparently taken down before this with a view to its re-erection on a grander scale. Certainly if this were not so its removal was simply wanton, for it had had so close a connexion

with national and civic history, and so impartial a record in matters ecclesiastical, that excuse for mere destruction was non-existent; as Carlyle said, it was "a kind of 'Times' newspaper, but edited partly by Heaven itself." It is interesting to know that in 1879 Mr. Penrose, surveyor to the Dean and Chapter, discovered at the very north-east corner of the present Cathedral enough of the foundations of the old Cross to see that it was composed of a wall 3 ft. high, octagonal in shape, with a diameter of 40 ft. from angle to angle, within which stood the Cross proper with a diameter of 17 ft. It was replaced in 1910 by a pillar topped with a figure of St. Paul by Sir Bertram Mackenal, and surrounded in base by a pulpit from the design of Sir R. Blomfield, R.A., at the expense of the late Mr. H. C. Richards, formerly M.P. for Finsbury (illus. opp. p. 40). A good idea of what old Paul's Cross was like may be gained from the illustration opposite. Here, too, will be seen up against the church an open two-storied building which, according to Dugdale, was also called the "Crowds" or "Shrowdes," and was used partly as the Consistory Court and partly as seating accommodation for important persons to come and listen to the sermons, and where, if the weather was bad, the sermons themselves could be preached instead of from the Cross.

Continuing our tour, at the extreme east end, as is commonly said, was the detached campanile or bell tower, together with St. Paul's Grammar School. According to a thirteenth century deed in the Cathedral (A box 24, No. 494), however, a bond of Richard de Greneford, chaplain, to find all the

OLD ST. PAUL'S: INTERIOR (*Hollar*)

OLD ST. PAUL'S: DIPTYCH (*Soc. of Ants.*)

timber necessary for the stalls of the quire and of the belfry (clocarium) describes the latter as being "in the corner of the greater cemetery towards Cheap." On the south were the sacristies and Treasury, not shown in Hollar's view, and on the further side of the transept the Chapter House, a small octagonal two-storied building only some 32½ ft. in diameter, built in 1332 and surrounded by a cloister two-storied like itself. Both floors of the cloister were open internally and the whole arrangement was quite unusual. The building was more or less destroyed in 1561 and its foundations, which were uncovered by Mr. Penrose in 1878, may now be seen in the garden of the Cathedral. At the south-west corner came the little church of St. Gregory, with its parsonage at its eastern end; whence came the saying by quaint old Fuller that St. Paul's was indeed the Mother Church, "having one babe in her body, St. Faith's, and another in her arms, St. Gregory." Various houses or "colleges" for the many chantry priests were scattered about, the deanery lay where it does now, that is, rather further away in a south-westerly direction with gardens stretching down to the river and the Canons' brewery and bakehouse on the site of present-day Godliman Street, the latter being called to mind by a narrow passage still named Paul's Bakehouse Yard. The upper end of this street was formerly called "Paul's Chain," from a chain thrown across to prevent wheeled traffic from entering the close. It is said that there were three other chains, but they have not been identified. There is also a mention of "St. Paul's Stump" in Leland's Collectanea i. p. lxxvi., which is something

of a mystery, but Mr. Roach Smith thought it might be a mediaeval landmark at the corner of Old Change and Cannon Street. Also, down Paul's Wharf Hill, near the old Doctors' Commons, where Sir Christopher Wren is said to have had a room over the archway in which the drawings for his new St. Paul's were made, lay property called the " Camera," or " Domus Dyanae vel Rosamundae," i.e. a house where at one time lived Henry II's Fair Rosamund, whom he used to call Diana when she was with him in London.

Finally, the whole of the Cathedral precincts were enclosed by a high wall in which were six gates. This dated back so far as early in the twelfth century, when Bishop Richard Belmeis " did wonderfully increase the said Church purchasing of his owne cost the large streetes and lanes about it . . . which ground he began to compasse about with a strong wall of stone and gates." Licence to fortify the wall was granted in 1317, and in 1670 the site of some of the " old maine wall " on the " Old Change " side was leased to the city for forty years.

This outline of a building no longer existent will perhaps suffice by way of description, but a reference to its state during the last hundred years of its life before the virtual destruction by the Great Fire in 1666 will be found on p. 220. In the next chapter we will therefore make a jump forward to a consideration of the present building.

CHAPTER III

New St. Paul's

HISTORY AFTER GREAT FIRE

AS will be seen later on (p. 226), Wren was called in to report upon the dilapidated Cathedral and gave it as his opinion that it was too weak to make it really worth preserving. Then came the great event of 1666 and, although it would not at first be admitted, the Great Fire was nevertheless clearly the final stroke to the old building, which, as we know, was under repair at the time and was therefore rendered an easier prey to the flames by reason of the heavy scaffolding in which it was enveloped. Wren, in a further account of the state of the Cathedral, was now more in favour of a complete rebuilding than ever; but while ideas of saving the old church were being considered he suggested that it might be possible to turn part at least of the old nave into a temporary place for public worship. When, however, they got to work upon it the pillars were found to be so brittle and treacherous as a result of the intense heat—for as Evelyn tells us, "the stones of St. Paul's flew like grenades" during the fire—that the danger of accidents made work practically impossible. Early in 1668, therefore, Dean Sancroft wrote to Wren at Oxford to say that, finding how impracticable it was

to bolster up the old work, they had at length decided to have a new building altogether, and added, "What we are to do next is the present deliberation, in which you are so absolutely and indispensably necessary to us that we can do nothing, resolve on nothing without you." Wren replied, "Sir, I am very glad the expences were not greater before this ruine convinced all knowing persons that there is noe medling with the old worke," and went on to say how wise he thought it to take up the project of an entirely new building and, perhaps with less wisdom as we know to-day, "to use the old as you would use a quarry." His next suggestion was that if the Dean and Chapter could give him some idea of the amount of money they would have to spend he would design accordingly, "for," he writes, "tho' I despair this age should erect any more such huge piles, yet I believe the reputation of paules and the compassion men have for its ruines may at least produce some neate frabricke wch shall recompence in Art and Beauty what it wants in bulke . . . ' The Commissioners for the rebuilding of St. Paul's, however, with a finer vision and a greater faith, said that they preferred to have a "Design handsome and noble and suitable to all the ends of it and to the Reputation of the City and Nation," and to trust the latter to meet the bill whatever it might be.

Wren then set to work and produced what should properly be called the "First Model Design," together with a model in explanation. This proved to be a large dome on eight piers surrounded by an ambulatory of eight lesser domes after the style of

a Greek cross and very much on the same lines as the original plan of St. Peter's at Rome by Bramante. Ever since he had been called in to advise, his mind had run upon the idea of a dome, which not only attracted him from an architectural point of view, but also seemed to be the only means of providing a vast auditorium where the Paul's Cross sermons were in future to be preached. But it was for this latter reason that his design met with so much adverse criticism, for he failed to gauge the outlook of the Restoration clergy, who knew that a cathedral is intended for services of worship rather than for endless sermons of instruction, and who therefore clamoured for the form of the Latin cross which, with its lengthened arms east and west, would alone provide what was required. To meet this wish, Wren added a secondary dome on to an elongated western side of his first idea and so produced the "Second Model Design" (illus. opp. p. 25), the model of which has now found a home, after years at South Kensington, in the triforium stage of the north-west tower, where it stands in a dilapidated condition mutely asking for a benefactor to come and restore it to its former state. And indeed it would be worth while, for, as the external elevation opp. p. 25, and the internal view opp. p. 201 (reproduced by kind permission from Mr. Longman's book) show, it had many good points as a design and indeed was always Sir Christopher's favourite. It, however, gave no greater satisfaction than the previous design, and in these days it is probable that the space available for a large congregation would have been found inadequate and any satisfactory view of the altar

would have been at all times out of the question; while, architecturally speaking, all the main arches built on the curve would have appeared very awkward to the eye.

Somewhat in disgust and grumbling that nave and aisles were "impertinent, our Religion not using Processions," Wren made various other drawings, as his son says, "merely for Discourse sake," and ultimately refused to make any more models or publish his designs, which he found "did but lose Time and subjected his Business many Times to incompetent Judges." However, something had to be done to satisfy the horde of maddening critics, and so there came to the birth that extraordinary effort known as the "Warrant Design" (between pp. 40 and 41). And what an astonishing production! As the late Mr. Paul Waterhouse said, "Of all the puzzles which beset the study of Wren's character and life, the Warrant Design for St. Paul's is the greatest." Some think that the great architect did it in desperation with his tongue in his cheek, others think him too serious for such a joke, and that he made a design which reckoned to satisfy the majority of his critics but which he had no intention of following out. Dr. Penrose, again, suggests that the rejection of his favourite design combined with the worry of the fault-finders, and the death of his wife at the same time, may have temporarily upset his powers. Be that as it may, this surprising design was duly sanctioned in 1675 by Royal Warrant, which in its preamble says, "and whereas amongst divers designes which have been represented to Vs wee have particularly pitched upon one, as well because

wee found it very artificiall proper and usefull. . . ." The Warrant ends up with what was indeed a saving clause, for the king left the whole to Wren's management and allowed him to make variations, " rather ornamental than essential," as from time to time he should see proper.

Can we doubt for a moment that this pregnant clause virtually gave us the Cathedral as it stands to-day ?

The first thing to be done was to clear the ground, and this turned out to be less easy than might be imagined, for the immense quantities of rubble and stone to the amount of 47,000 cartloads were almost unmanageable. Some of it was taken over by the city authorities for paving purposes, and it is said that up to about seventy years ago those who passed through Serjeants Inn were still walking upon remains from old St. Paul's. Some again, unfortunately, was used in the building of the new Cathedral, for the material was mainly of a softish freestone which to-day is the cause of much trouble. The breaking down of the ruined walls, and above all of the central tower, presented something of a problem, but this was at first got over by sixteen pounds of gunpowder which Wren put under the north-west angle of the latter, reducing in a moment to a heap of rubbish the last remaining part of what had once been the pride of all England. When, however, the same agent was employed in another part during Wren's absence, a foolish mistake was made which nearly resulted in casualties amongst occupiers of the neighbouring houses. In consequence, a panic, and the use of gunpowder forbidden.

Long stretches of wall still remained whose excellent and substantial building, for all the Norman methods, required overmuch time and labour to demolish, whereupon the fertile brain of Wren rose to the occasion and resurrected the idea of the ancient battering ram with complete success.

Having more or less cleared the site, Wren proceeded to dig his foundations, and there he discovered what is well known to all to-day, and which has been confirmed and explained more scientifically in the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries for 1914 by the surveyor to the Dean and Chapter. This gentleman sunk nine boreholes, 6 in. in diameter, both inside the building and outside in the immediate vicinity. By this means Mr. Macartney shows that the various strata beneath the Cathedral are as follows : Débris at the top, then pot or brick earth, sand, gravel, sand and gravel together, and finally London clay at a depth of about 40 ft. Not only so, but he discovered that the gradient runs to the south and west, and that " the water level is in the average 9.65 ft above high-water mark, not, as stated in Parentalia, on the low-water level which is 6 ft. below Ordnance datum." This water level is an exceedingly important point, because its presence makes for the stability of the Cathedral foundations, but it is agreed that it has sunk in recent years owing to excavations of various kinds near by, and herein lies a source of danger in the future.

In planning the depth of his foundations, Sir Christopher was no doubt influenced by the position of those of the mediaeval church, which he found to be resting no deeper than upon the pot earth. He

S.P.C.K.

WEST FRONT

Sport and Gen. Press

THE DOME

seems to have argued that this had proved adequate before and might therefore be expected to do so again, and thus we find his foundations going no more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. below the crypt level, which itself is some 10 ft. below the ground. He mistrusted the old foundations themselves, however, and, as he found that the orientation of the earlier church had not been quite accurate, and himself being of opinion that it was unnecessary " too nicely to observe East or West in the Position unless it falls out properly," he had no compunction in so arranging his own lines that he avoided those of the old building, even although it threw the axis of his work some seven degrees to the north of the true line. He was also driven to this course by the new Act which had been passed to ensure that all main roads were to be 40 ft. wide, for the position of the old church only allowed a 30-ft. way on the south. Originally he had hoped so to site his Cathedral that it would look straight down Ludgate Hill, but owing to the vexatious delays over settling the design, the roads and houses had already been planned out and a start made with rebuilding before the position of the Cathedral could be exactly fixed. In digging his foundations, Wren came upon a vast quantity of animal bones, together with Roman pottery ware (see Conyers MS.), from which some have inferred that the traditional temple of Diana was a probable fact. The data is not sufficient to afford definite proof but, as Mr. Macartney very reasonably thinks, such an idea need not be altogether out of the question. Furthermore, this gentleman is disposed to find certain inaccuracies in " Parentalia " in the

matter of this preliminary work. For example, Wren is said to have started at the west end, which seems very unlikely considering that he had been distinctly ordered to start at the east, and William Blundell in his "Crosby Records" settles the matter by giving a detailed description of the state of the work when he visited London in 1681, from which it is perfectly clear that the west end had not yet been touched at that time. Again, we are told that, on arriving at the north-east corner, Wren found a large pit of loose soil which he was obliged to excavate right down to the London clay and fill up with solid masonry. Mr. Macartney has made tests at this point and although unable to speak with absolute certainty, is rather doubtful as to the existence of this heavy substructure.

Thus the building was started, and proceeded steadily for some ten years or so, by which time the walls and side aisles of the quire, the north and south porticos, and the great piers for the dome were completed.

ARCHITECTURE, EXTERIOR

The main walls of the building on the exterior are designed in two stories with double pilasters, Corinthian below and Composite above, a bold cornice separating the two orders and finishing off the top. The balustrading above has a somewhat sad history, for it was done in 1717 contrary to Wren's wish, when other influences were at work against the old man—the "very Moses of Architecture," as Prof. Beresford Pite calls him—influences which succeeded in obtaining his dismissal the next year. At each

corner between the nave, transepts, and quire, will be noticed a square projection or bastion which is primarily intended as an additional buttress to the dome and serves the secondary purpose of a vestry. The north and south porticos are both extra-

SOUTH PORTICO: IRON GRATING

ordinarily dignified. The pediment over the former, by Grinling Gibbon, bears the royal arms supported by angels and palm branches; that over the latter shows the Phoenix rising again from the flames with the motto "Resurgam." This last was the work of Caius Gabriel Cibber, who, we must not forget, was

also responsible for the four beautifully carved "Incense Potts upon the Peers," together with the double festoons "with eight cherubins heads upon the Pedistalls" at the entrance to this portico (illus. opp. p. 41). The east end is somewhat disappointing, and it could be wished that Wren had made a little more of it. On it is carved the cypher of William III and Mary ensigned with a crown, and in this connexion it must be pointed out how well worth examination are the carved swags of fruit and flowers beneath each window with their delightfully roguish little "cherubins heads" intermixed. All those in the eastern arm are the work of Grinling Gibbon, and display a skill and *abandon* which are altogether attractive. A beginning was then made in 1686 with the western end, of which a good deal had survived. Here, too, Wren made an alteration, not this time to suit his own taste, but from hard necessity. A model of the original western portico may be seen in the Library, where it will be noticed that Wren's idea was to have very large single pillars some 8 or 9 ft. in diameter, surmounted by a pediment. When, however, it came to the question of getting the stone, it was found that the Portland quarries were incapable of supplying stone of such a size and indeed could only manage something of about half that dimension. This fact compelled him to alter his design, making the portico in two stories and employing double columns in order to avoid giving any impression of weakness; at the same time recessing the west end of the Cathedral within so that the contrast of light and shade might be accentuated. According to all the

rules of classical architecture, this portico is completely wrong, and yet who shall say that the effect is not wholly admirable? It is interesting to note in passing that Mr. Pangbourne (p. 157) informs the writer that, even with modern methods of cutting and transport, Portland could not to-day produce 9 ft. diameter cylinders owing to "vertical natural cleavages in the strata," and that, with 16 ft. cube to the ton, ten tons is the maximum weight with which they can deal. The extension of the towers at either side beyond the width of the nave aisle walls cleverly adds to the imposing appearance of the western front, although it is generally said that the chapels behind them rather spoil their individual effect; nevertheless, the writer feels that projecting as they do they would look bare and inconsequent, almost like an afterthought, if left standing unsupported by something in the rear. These two towers themselves are very well worthy of notice for their graceful form and for the way in which they lead the eye on to the chief feature of the building (illus. opp. p. 200). The circular colonnades with their square angular projections give a maximum of light and shade, and are surmounted by little double ogeed cupolas with golden pineapples on their tops. Whether the form of these cupolas was to remind the visitor of the bells that were to be hanging below, or to act as a foil to the dome with its symmetrical outline, is not known, but the whole effect is very charming. The pediment over the portico, showing the Conversion of St. Paul, was the work of the sculptor Francis Bird, in 1706, for which he received £650, the same man being responsible for the figures

of St. Paul at the top flanked by St. Peter and St. James, with the four evangelists on the towers. At the bottom in the southern face of the south-west tower is a fine entrance commonly known as the Dean's doorway, which should be examined.

Over and above all that has just been described towers the mighty Dome, so raised on its colonnaded drum that it may be seen from base to summit even at a short distance away (illus. opp. p. 33). That dome which has moved, and always will move, people to ecstasies, and called forth from the heart many an unfeigned eulogy of what was Wren's especial attribute—his wonderful sense of true proportion. It will suffice, perhaps, to quote the words of Mr. Somers Clarke, who, as surveyor to the Cathedral for many years, has had more opportunities than most men of studying and appreciating the greatness of Wren's work. Thus he says: "The more one studies the graces and beautiful outline of that wonderful structure, the curve of the dome, the strong horizontal lines with which he binds it together at the spring, the noble dignity of the colonnade with its unbroken entablature sweeping round, the subtle variety in the lanthorn (which in true elevation is surmounted by a dome of very odd shape but just right up there), one is forced to appreciate that Wren was indeed a very great artist, an architect in the fullest sense of the word, for he not only had unlimited resources in himself in overcoming constructive difficulties, but he accomplished his end by means that were nearly always beautiful in result." Nor should it be forgotten that this beauty of form is assisted by the colouration of the building in heavily marked

divisions of black and white. Nathaniel Hawthorne was quick to approve of this "drapery of black," and the "Architects' Journal" quotes George A. Sala as having said, "It is really the better for all the incense which all the chimneys since the time of Wren have offered at its shrine and are still flinging up every day from their foul and grimy censers."

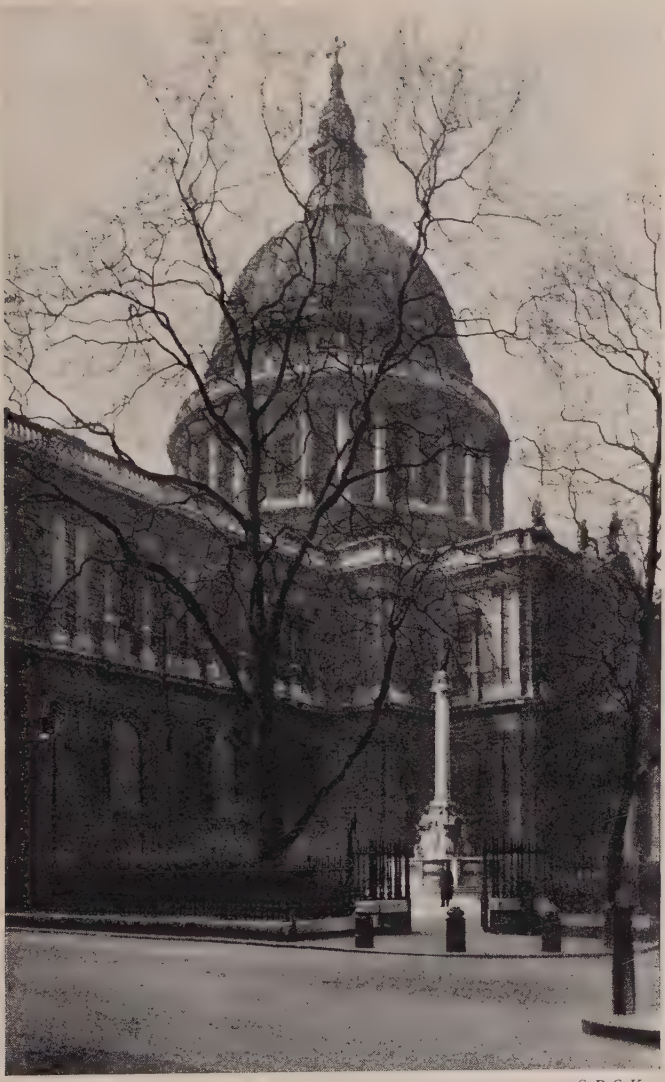
Round the whole Cathedral, except at the west end, runs the well-known railing of Sussex iron, cast in the Gloucester furnace at Lamberhurst for just over £11,200. Mr. J. H. Every, of Lewes, has kindly pointed out to the writer that it is composed of large panels of cast iron with long spikes of wrought iron riveted into the rail, and that it is very noticeable how well the cast iron has stood the weather, while the wrought work is very badly rusted. Originally the railing ran at the west where now the granite posts stand, but with a view to opening up the approach to the Cathedral this portion was removed and sold in 1874, part finding its way to Toronto, in Canada, where it now surrounds the tomb of Mr. J. G. Howard and his wife in High Park. Mr. Starkie Gardner draws special attention to Tijou's two entrance gates by the south portico which, though some 10 ft. wide and $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, open in one piece and are supplied with the unique addition of the central panel in the form of a wicket.

ARCHITECTURE, INTERIOR

Let us now enter the building, passing by the statue of good Queen Anne, who was the last person in the world to turn her back upon the church in the

ordinary way! The original monument was made by Francis Bird, but, having become defaced by time and man, was in 1886 replaced by what we see to-day. The two broad flights of steps are rather more interesting than may appear at first sight. In the first instance, Benson, the miserably incompetent supplanter of Wren, designed the ascent, but time avenged the latter in 1873 when Sir Christopher's own design was found in the Cathedral library, and Benson's work was swept away even as he had been served himself long before. It is probably not generally realized that, in reproducing Wren's idea, Mr. Penrose found himself obliged to lay the steps on a very slight curve instead of quite horizontally; this being due to the two towers having sunk and so requiring this little device to make the lines coincide with the settlement.

As soon as we are inside we notice that the westernmost bay and saucer dome of the nave are a good deal larger than the others and are square on plan. Probably this was done to make the former match the opening of the chapel on either side, those chapels which rumour, unsubstantiated, says were so inexorably forced upon him by the Duke of York, afterwards James II, as to have reduced Sir Christopher wellnigh to tears. Possibly the idea was to provide an ample vestibule for ease of assemblage on special occasions, or, as Sir R. Blomfield suggests, we may even see in this extra size a reminiscence of the secondary dome which Wren had added in his second Model Design. The treatment of the Cathedral internally is on the same lines throughout. The piers have a pilaster at each corner with a Corinthian



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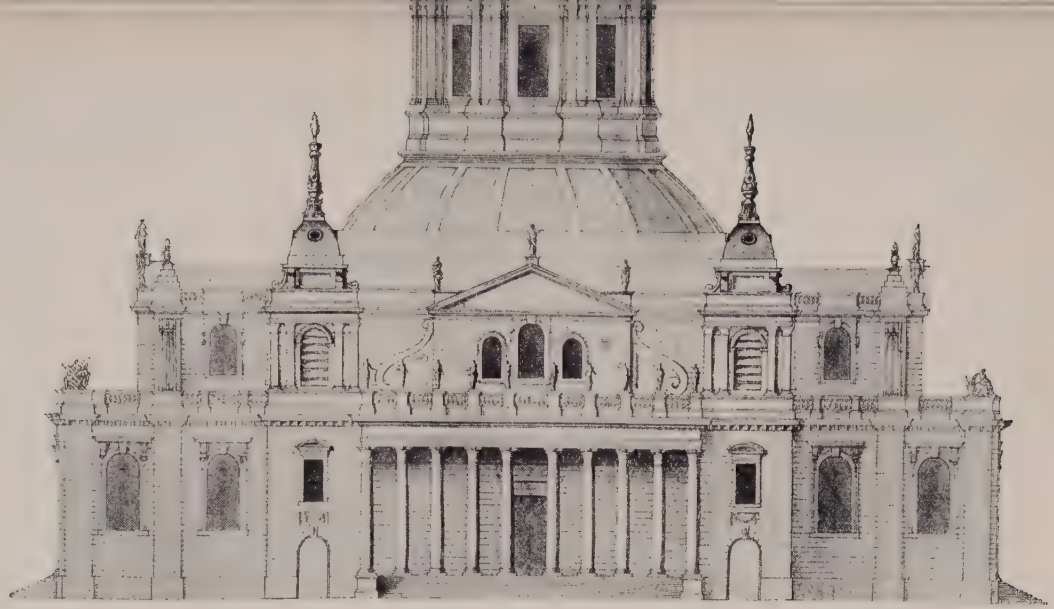
VIEW FROM NORTH-EAST CORNER WITH PAUL'S CROSS



WREN'S "WARRANT DESIGN"

SOUTH PORTICO

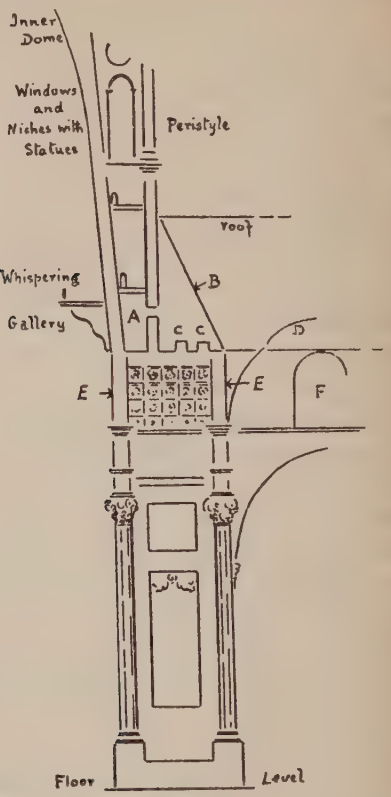
capital of " raffled " leaves, i.e. the acanthus with tips turned over (illus. opp. p. 56), and an architrave above from which springs the arcading. The face of each pier looking into the nave and quire is ornamented with an additional fluted and reeded pilaster with similar capital (illus. opp. p. 49) running up to the main architrave and entablature which encircle the whole building and bind it together. Over this again is what is known as an " attic," i.e. a low wall, set on the entablature, from which Wren has made the arches of his vaults to spring. Here again he is guilty of a theoretical mistake, for the attic story, properly speaking, is the finish to an elevation, and is not supposed to be equal to supporting anything much upon it. Possibly Wren by the introduction of this clerestory was making a further concession to the prevalent Gothic taste, or else, like many another genius before him, was quietly defying accepted rules, for yet, once more, to those untroubled by a knowledge of these laws of classical architecture, the result seems satisfactory enough. In the vault of every bay is a saucer dome, and as the six central bays are oblong and the saucer domes circular it was necessary to connect the latter with the vaulting at the lower level over the clerestory windows by means of elliptic arches, a form of construction known as " Welsh vaulting." The soffits of all arches are handsomely coffered. The actual eastern end is the least satisfying part, the accommodation for altar and accessories being limited and undignified. Wren may indeed have felt so himself, for it is to be remarked that not only did he design an elaborate baldachino, but planned

that the altar should stand, contrary to universal custom, advanced in front of rather than beneath it.

The main architectural interest of the Cathedral is, of course, the dome and the means taken by Wren for its creation and support—means which bring out to the full all his fertile ingenuity and resource. He began at any rate with a happy omen, for it is related that when measuring out the ground for the dome he called to a workman to bring him a piece of stone to mark the centre. Picking up something at random the man brought it over, and it was then found to be part of an old tombstone bearing the word " Resurgam," i.e. " I shall rise again." It is worth mentioning that, of all the tombs and tablets listed as being in the old Cathedral, that of Bishop King, James I's " king of preachers," alone bore that solitary word! Under the amended design Wren was handicapped by having to provide aisles which involved a vista throughout the length of the church and so prevented his having the squarer type of pier support to the dome which he had originally intended. He therefore changed the shape of his piers, making them long and narrow (c. 30 ft. by c. 9 ft.) and running parallel with the arms of the church (see plan). Furthermore, it was about this time that serious cracks and expansions were appearing in St. Peter's at Rome, facts which gave Wren food for serious thought. The result was that instead of raising a dome supported not only on eight piers but also on the four massive corner bastions, Wren thought it best to contract the circumference of his dome so as to lessen the danger of its over-spreading at the base. The accompanying

disadvantage to this was that it tended to throw the weight of the dome on to the inner ends of his long piers, with what result will be seen in Chapter VII. The setting of these piers, it will be observed from the plan, is in a square formation, and as a circular dome was to be placed upon them it was necessary to fill out the angles of the square with what are known technically as "pendentives" in order to transform the square into a circular base. The illustration on p. 65 taken opposite one of these filled-out angles, shows to right and left the main arches into quire and transept and the angle itself filled up with two arches, one above the other. The reason for this is that the width here is less than that of the main arches (28 ft. as compared with 40 ft.), and as Wren desired that for the sake of appearance all the supporting arches to the dome should be of the same size, he was obliged to fill in with a sub-arch and a semi-dome below and to put another overhead to match those in its own level. It is one of the few criticisms justly levelled at him that it is quite unscientific, and indeed unnatural to the eye, to have two arches mitred, i.e. coming down so as to make the wall above appear to be standing on a point as they do here. Gwilt calls it a "sad abuse"!—but on the other hand something of the kind had to be done to get the requisite size, and therefore Wren may be commended for a clever and resourceful escape from one of his many difficulties. Mrs. Van Rensselaer tells us that Wren himself was not over-pleased with the result, and proposed filling in the upper opening with statuary backed by a sham curtain of plaster!

In his endeavour to provide for all possible contingencies, Wren made two important additions. Firstly, realizing that the four main arches would



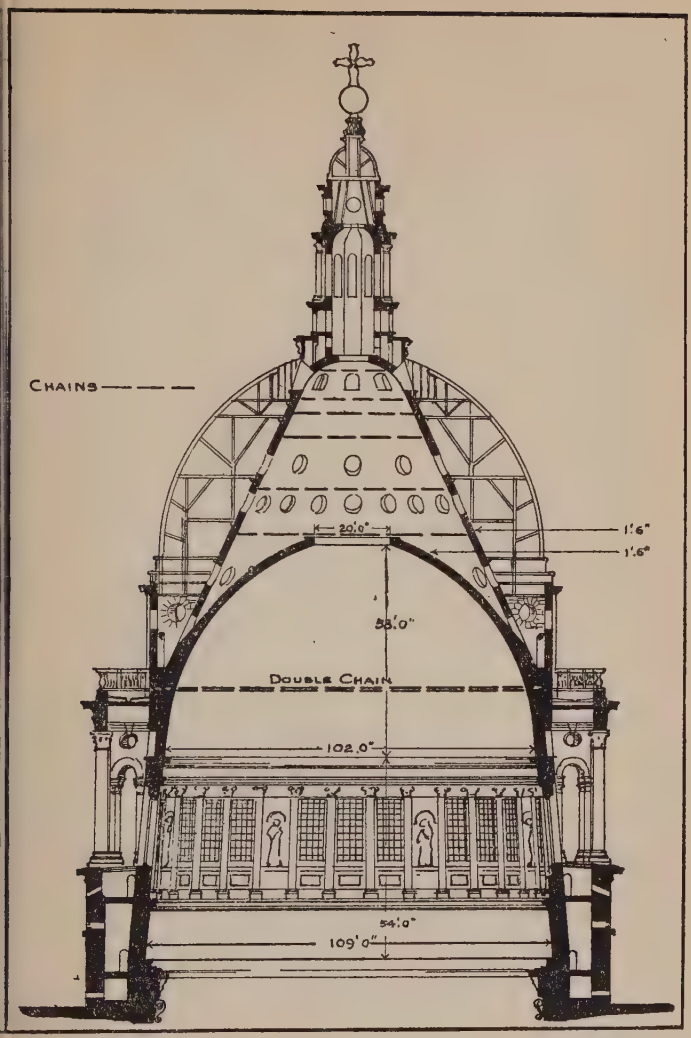
A.—Small chambers.
B.—Buttress (one of 32).
CC.—Inverted arches.
D.—Saucer dome.
EE.—Main arch.
F.—Clerestory window.

SECTION OF MAIN ARCH

not be uniformly weighted, he built two inverted arches at the rear to prevent any upward movement of the unweighted portion. [This section is not to

scale. As regards the upper part, it is a rough copy of a drawing by Mr. Macartney taken down to the floor level by the writer with a view to making the written explanation a little clearer.] These can only be seen by going into the roof near those queer little cells or chambers in between the two walls, with an entrance so small that when a stoutish workman squeezed in one day and then got hot at his work inside, tradition has it that he could not be got out until he had removed all his clothes and had had a cold douche to reduce him ! Secondly, Wren built out in each external angle, made by the transepts with the nave and quire respectively, a square addition or bastion to which reference has already been made (see plan and p. 35). Immediately above the eight arches comes the Whispering Gallery, and at this point the walls begin to bend in very slightly, pyramid fashion, running up until they end with the inner cupola or dome. Wren himself had never been particularly anxious to have a large open dome, knowing that it was an impossibility not only from the point of view of appearance but also of acoustics. On the other hand the strength of the memory of the lofty spire of old St. Paul's seemed to call forth from the public a demand that whatever took its place must likewise tower up above everything else, " tho' that was but a spit and this a mountain," and so to " comply with the Humour of the Age " Wren launched out into something far larger than he originally intended. The inner dome was thus a necessity, and so here it is, a shell 18 in. thick with an open eye and a colonnade or peristyle running round externally, of which the top forms the Stone

Gallery. This peristyle is something more, however, than mere decoration to catch the eye, for each of its thirty-two columns represents a buttress, and every alternate column and arch is attached by an iron tie to the base of the inner dome. At the Stone Gallery level is a band of Portland stone, in which lies embedded in lead a huge chain of 8-ft. links, each composed of eight iron bars 1 in. square welded together at either end and bent to form a hook engaging in an iron ring. This was designed to prevent the building spreading outwards, and is admirably fulfilling its purpose, while an examination some time ago showed that, owing to the care with which it was inserted, it is as bright and clean as when it was first placed there. The story goes, as quoted by "Karshish" in the "Architects' Journal," that Wren, considering this chain to be unnecessary and only putting it in at all under strong pressure, deliberately and secretly had one of the links cut through before it was finally placed in position. It would not be a very easy thing to prove one way or the other, but the strong probabilities are that it is a mere tale. The cause of the thrust at this especial point is the fact that from here internally there springs the brick cone, also 18 in. thick, which rises up to support the heavy lantern (see section). This cone is also banded, more particularly in its upper part, with six courses of stone in which are embedded more iron chains. The tip of the cone is of stone, with which is incorporated the base of the lantern. This crowning piece, which is estimated to weigh 700 tons, carries on in its form something of the design of the western



SECTION OF DOME, CONE, ETC., BY SIDNEY TOY, F.S.A.

By courtesy of the Publishers of "The Builder."

towers. At its base is the Golden Gallery, and at its summit the famous Ball and Cross, not the originals put up by Andrew Niblett, the coppersmith, in 1708, but their successors of 1821, designed by Mr. C. R. Cockerell, the Cathedral surveyor. The outer covering to the cone is the beautifully proportioned dome, the " very crown of England's architectural glory," which is so well known to everybody. It is of oak boarding covered with lead and supported on a framework of uprights and cross-beams, the latter of which rest one end on stone corbels let into the cone. This timber framing, to the ordinary lay eye, does not seem excessive for the work it has to do, when due regard is paid to the weight to be carried, the wind thrusts to be countered and the extra rigidity to be given to the cone ; but all the same this has been a matter for criticism, some even going so far as to say that had Wren been a timber merchant, " the implication would have been on his morality " !

When the last stone was put in position by his son in 1710, Wren himself being too old to make the ascent, thirty-five long years had gone by since the great work was started, a work extraordinary in having been carried out under one architect, practically one bishop (for Henchman held the See for only the first four months of the time), but *not*, as so often wrongly stated, under one mason. Of which more elsewhere.

A short note may with advantage be made here of one or two points arising out of the above description.

Sport and Gen. Press

THE DOME FROM LUDGATE CIRCUS

The Dean and Chapter

VIEW FROM WEST DOOR

MATERIALS AND COST

In the first place, with regard to the materials, we find Wren using a large variety of stone. Portland, of course, comes first and foremost, being used all over the building as the facing stone in addition to those places where blocks of a specially large size were required. Bath, Burford, Taynton, Headington, Ketton, Beer, and Reigate, from England, and Caen, from Normandy, are all mentioned. Most of these are an oolitic limestone of a rather soft character from the Cotswolds and the neighbourhood, which found the Thames a convenient means of transport. A large proportion of the stone came from Burford and Taynton, and, as we know from the journal kept at his quarry by Christopher Kempster (one of the contractors to the Cathedral), this was loaded into boats " at ratcat," i.e. Radcot Bridge. Much of this was landed at Paul's Wharf, but some was brought up the Fleet river to docks at Holborn Bridge which, according to Mr. Aleck Abrahams in the " Times Literary Supplement " for March 20, 1919, had been expressly made for the stone intended for the west end of St. Paul's.

In the second place, the total cost of the actual building is generally given as £736,752 2s. 4d., to which Mr. Longman quite rightly thought that £10,909 7s. 8d., the cost of preliminary preparations, ought to be added. Gwilt agrees with the first total and would like to include £11,202 0s. 6d., which was the price paid for the much-discussed stone and iron railing round the Cathedral. A certain proportion of this large sum was raised by public and private

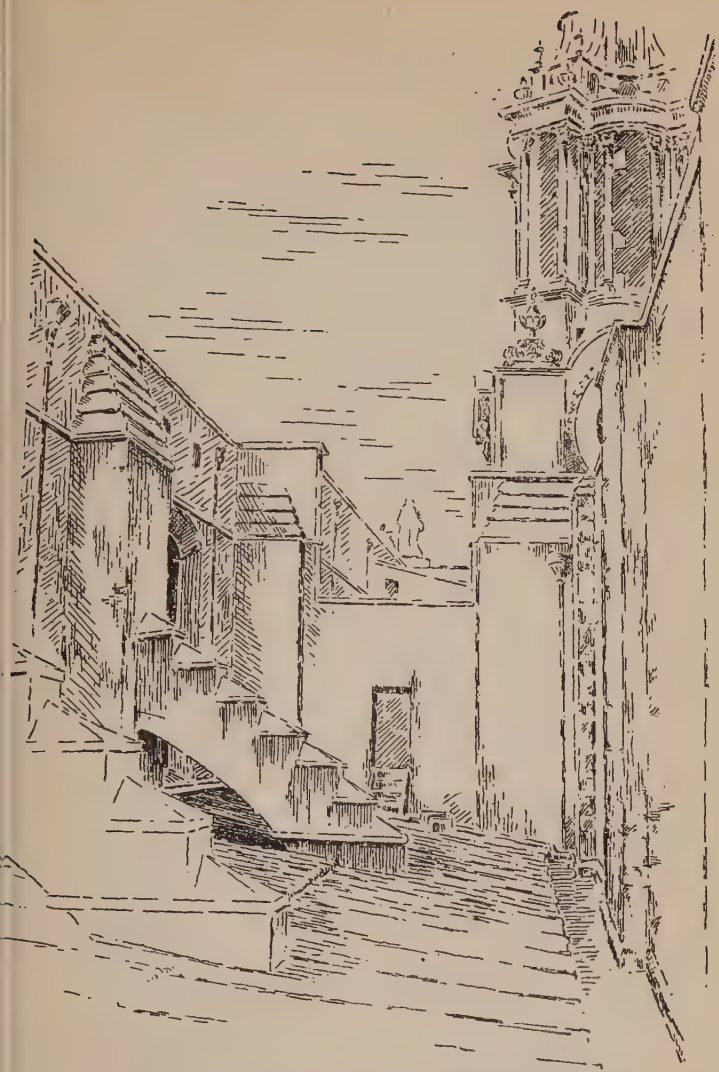
subscription, but the greater part was produced by means of a tax levied upon all coal brought into London, and shared with the expenses of Wren's other buildings, such as Greenwich Hospital and the city churches. It is for this reason that in setting up trustees for the new Cathedral, we find that to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London is added the Lord Mayor of London for the time being. It may also be of interest to note that in "Archaeologia," Vol. LXVI, p. 11, we are given, owing to the very detailed accounts of the building preserved in the Cathedral, what may be considered an almost certainly accurate valuation by a London expert, from which it appears that in 1914–5 the cost of building was about two and a quarter times greater than what it was in the days of Wren.

With regard also to Wren's drawings and designs for his Cathedral, it has been said that these are to be found not only at All Souls' College, but also at Worcester College, Oxford, and in the Bodleian Library. This, however, is not correct, and it may be as well to put it on record that Worcester possesses no drawing of any kind which can be attributed with certainty to Wren, and that the Bodleian contains no drawing which relates to the Cathedral.

CRITICISMS

Finally, just a few criticisms of Wren's work beyond those already mentioned.

Externally, we find that the upper storey of the main walls for long was a stone of stumbling to many. Pugin even went so far as to say that, "One half of St. Paul's was built to conceal the other."



CURTAIN WALL ON RIGHT, CLERESTORY ON LEFT

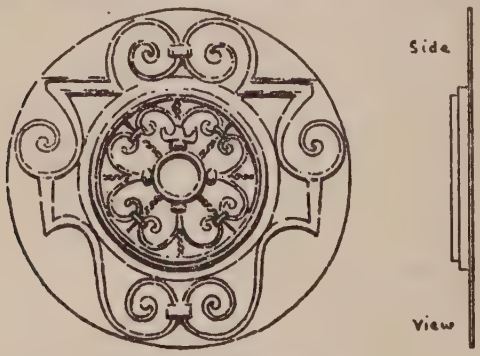
It is, of course, a dead wall—to call it a curtain wall would really be more correct—and, as the illustration shows, has nothing behind it. Wren always said that no covering or roof other than a dome, and certainly no buttresses, should be allowed to appear in classical work, and this wall carries out his principle, even if, in the doing, it pretends to be something which it is not. Of recent years, however, it has come to be realized that there is a further and excellent reason for this sham, for it is felt that this heavy weight on the top gives extra strength and stability to the wall below and helps to distribute better the work of resistance to the stresses and thrusts of the great central mass. A more reasonable objection to it is that put forward by the "Builder" for 1892, where it is pointed out that the wall surface itself is too flat in appearance, and that from a distance the dome seems to be resting upon a long box. Such an effect, which is an undoubted fact from anywhere directly north or south of the Cathedral, can only be avoided by taking up a standpoint from which the western towers can be brought in to group with the main feature. Internally, Gwilt complains of the "multiplicity of breaks and incongruous forms whence is a want of breadth and repose," and, of course, St. Paul's suffers from a diminished clear internal area, due to the heavy masses of pier masonry, in common with all classical buildings as compared with Gothic. In proof whereof it may be mentioned, for example, that whereas the naves of the Cathedrals of St. Paul's and Lincoln are of nearly the same dimensions, the piers of the former are double the diameter of the

columns of the latter. Certainly also the equal lengths of nave and quire, as Miss Milman says, give a " sense of contraction and lack of expansion," as will be found out when it comes to looking for an illustration which gives an adequate impression of length when standing at the west end !—and it will probably come as a surprise to many to be told that, with the sole exception of York Minster, St. Paul's is the widest Cathedral in the kingdom. Fault has also been found with the cone, which the "Builder" stigmatizes as an "aesthetic sin" because its concealment leads people to think that the lantern is supported by the dome, which is very far from the truth. Such a criticism must remain largely a matter of opinion. There seems no call to require an exposure of all his methods of construction provided that an architect gives just proportion and reasonable stability in appearance, for, as Wren himself said of architecture in general, " Beauty, firmness, and convenience are the principles ; the first two depend upon geometrical reasons of optics and staticks, the third only makes the variety." No one indeed can say that the dome *looks* incapable of supporting the lantern. In any event, sin or no sin, the " Builder " is constrained to say, as indeed will be most visitors, that " with all these drawbacks, however, St. Paul's dome remains one of the great things of architecture, which has produced few structures at once so grand and so graceful, and we do not say that the popular admiration of it is at all more than it justly claims."

CHAPTER IV

INTERIOR—DETAILS

IN this chapter the visitor will be taken round the interior of the Cathedral and shown the more important details with the exception, for the most part, of the monuments, which speak for themselves and are listed in detail from the official guide on p. 238. They should, nevertheless, be noticed *en passant* and admired, not as works of art but for their keeping green the memory of many famous men who helped to make England what she is.



IRONWORK ON WEST END

Before going in, it is just worth while stepping up to the big main doors to notice that the frame in which they are set is of marble, and also to look at the

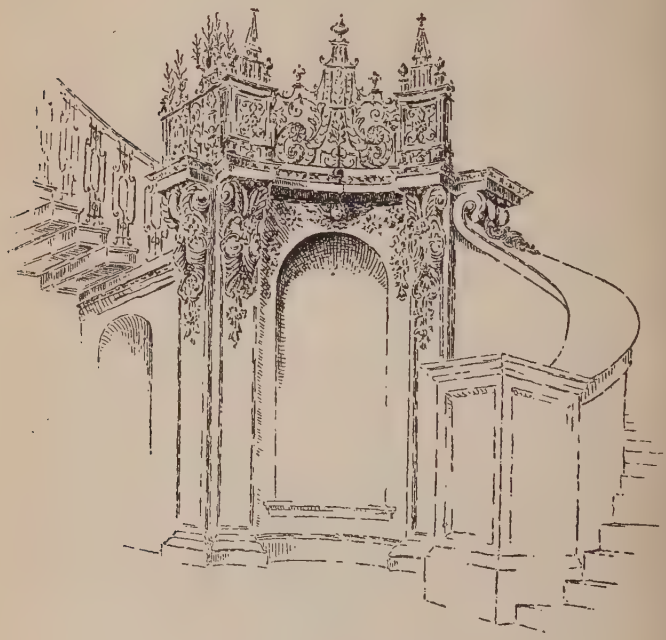
rather pleasing little pieces of ironwork decorating the niches and windows on either side, which are the work of Tijou.

Turning then and passing through the south-west entrance, the first pair of doors we notice on the

IRONWORK AT WEST END

right can only be opened on application to a verger, but there is no difficulty about getting this done, and upon no account should it be omitted, for behind them is to be seen that most interesting and ingenious piece of work known as the Geometrical Staircase. At the first glance this staircase, which is built on the newel system but without the newel, looks to be most insecure. It is, of course, perfectly safe in point of fact, the arrangement being that each step is firmly embedded in the wall and also rests upon the one immediately beneath. Up to within just a few years ago a similar type of staircase was to be found at 35 Lincoln's Inn Fields, now the College of Estate Management. All the ironwork is by Tijou and is best seen from the door quite at the bottom, where an inimitable combination of carved stone and wrought iron affords one of the most charming sights in the Cathedral. The next thing of interest is the Chapel of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, an Order more especially

given in connexion with services rendered in Colonial and Foreign affairs. Observe the original iron railing by Thomas Robinson, and the screen carved by Jonathan Maine. The stalls are of teak, the work of Mr. J. E. Knox, in 1903, with two iron panels



GEOMETRICAL STAIRCASE

inset, which were formerly part of a number in the quire stalls, and are the work of Tijou (illus. opp. p. 80). The bishop's throne has only quite recently been made up from the design of Mr. M. E. Macartney, with some derelict carved work and amorini. Over each stall hangs the banner of the occupier. In old

S.P.C.K.

CAPITAL WITH "RAFFLED" LEAVES

S.P.C.K.

SAMUEL JOHNSON

A. Hester

NAVE : NORTH-WEST CORNER

days this chapel was the Consistory Court, and afterwards for a time housed the Wellington monument. Passing on we reach, on the left of the aisle, Holman Hunt's replica with variations of his famous picture, "The Light of the World," which is to be seen at Keble College, Oxford; while, close by, in the nave, are two paintings by G. F. Watts, R.A., entitled "Time, Death, and Judgment," and "Peace and Goodwill." The doorway beyond on the right leads to the upper parts, which will be taken later. Pausing a moment before entering the transept, it will be well to stand and examine the dome and substructure from this point. The mosaics, and in fact the decoration in general, will be found described on p. 145, including that which may be seen far up through the eye of the inner dome looking like a gilded cornice, and it is the proportions and treatment of the building already referred to in the last chapter which it is desired here to emphasize. The wrought-iron railings across the openings above the semi-domes are original work shared between Robinson and Colborne.

RAILING BY ROBINSON

As we turn round we see in front of us an enormous

marble font made in 1726–7 by Francis Bird for £350, and, above, a window by Mr. C. E. Kempe, put in as a thanksgiving for the recovery of the then Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII) in 1872. It has been said that contemporary portraits have been included, but the makers assure the writer definitely that this is not the case. Close by is the monument by H.R.H. Princess Louise to the Colonial troops, who, in 1899–1902, died in South Africa. Under the arch towards the dome are the tombs of two famous men who died in 1805, on the left Lord Nelson (sculptor, Flaxman), the hero of Trafalgar and the greatest seaman England ever produced; on the right Lord Cornwallis (sculptor, Rossi), who fought in the American War of Independence and was afterwards twice Governor-General of India (illus. opp. p. 81). Attention should be especially given to the figures of the men commemorated, for they are excellent works of art, whereas the subsidiary allegorical figures are, to say the least, distressing. The midshipmen make you want to give them a push up on to the pedestal and the dull-looking lion to give him a push off, while the figures opposite are jejune and lifeless to the last degree. Gwilt justly waxes very indignant with all these additions both here and on other monuments, stigmatizing them as "a great violation of decorum and taste"! The windows in the south-east corner represent on the south the Agony in the Garden, given in 1868 by the Goldsmiths' Company; on the east the Crucifixion, given at the same time by the Drapers' Company. They are both of Munich glass and are wearing badly, but their design harmonizes

well with the building and, most important of all, they admit a good amount of light, which in so gloomy a city is a paramount consideration. Formerly they were in the eastern apse. Leaving the entrance to the crypt for the moment we find at the corner the figure of John Howard, Quaker and prison reformer, who "trod an open and unfrequented path to immortality." Strange that a member of the Society of Friends should have the first monument to be set up in the Cathedral!

Turning to the south quire aisle we pass through some of Tijou's handiwork in the shape of iron gates showing unmistakable French ideas in the valance with tassels or Cloth of Estate and masks, one of which pleasingly hides the stop at the junction of the two gates. Notice also the bay or "water" leaves with tendrils and berries and the little urns at the top with flames issuant (illus. opp. p. 88). On the right is the door leading up to the Dean's Vestry formed inside one of the four supporting bastions (p. 35), with oak panelling and a domed ceiling ornamented with plaster work. Here may be seen a set of wash sketches of his cartoons for the dome, made by Sir James Thornhill for the information of Queen Anne, together with a fine 6-ft. marqueterie clock bought in 1697 for £14. It was only some forty years ago that it was thoroughly cleaned, the varnish removed, and the beautiful inlay revealed. Along on the left we are passing behind the back of the quire stalls, where special notice should be made of some beautiful carved wood panels by Gibbon and of Tijou's charming and varied iron grilles (illus. pp. 96, 97, 129). Here, too, is Sir Hamo Thornycroft's

most admirable and life-like figure, made in 1905, of Bishop Creighton (illus. opp. p. 105), the historian, who died worn out by the exacting work of his diocese. Opposite is to be remarked the only complete pre-Fire monument which has come down to us, namely that of Doctor Donne, the quaint and amusing preacher and author (illus. opp. p. 105). The idea of being represented in this guise was that of Donne himself, the work being that of the famous sculptor, Nicholas Stone. The entrance gates to the chancel next call for attention, although they are not perhaps exactly what they seem, for to-day they are something of a patching of old Tijou and modern work adapted and made up in 1890, as the date at the top testifies, by Messrs. Barkentin and Krall, from the designs of Messrs. Bodley and Garner. Such part as is old formed the entrance gates at the west end of the quire. It is generally said that as only charcoal-smelted iron was suitable for the special hammering of the foliated parts, it had to be obtained from Norway. The figures in the lacquered portion represent apostles facing inwards to the chancel, and minor prophets facing outwards to the aisles. At the east end of this south aisle is now held the Consistory Court, and on the wall is a picture of the "Dead Christ" by Romanelli (1610–62), presented in 1922 by the Duke of Bedford. Above, is a window of very badly worn Munich glass, dated 1870, and given in memory of Sir William Cotton, with the stoning of St. Stephen for its subject. Close by we again meet another wonderful Tijou gate. We still find in it the Cloth of Estate and the bay leaf, together with a modern cresting of a number of

candle-holders; altogether a fine piece of work which is most difficult to see or examine properly owing to its position.

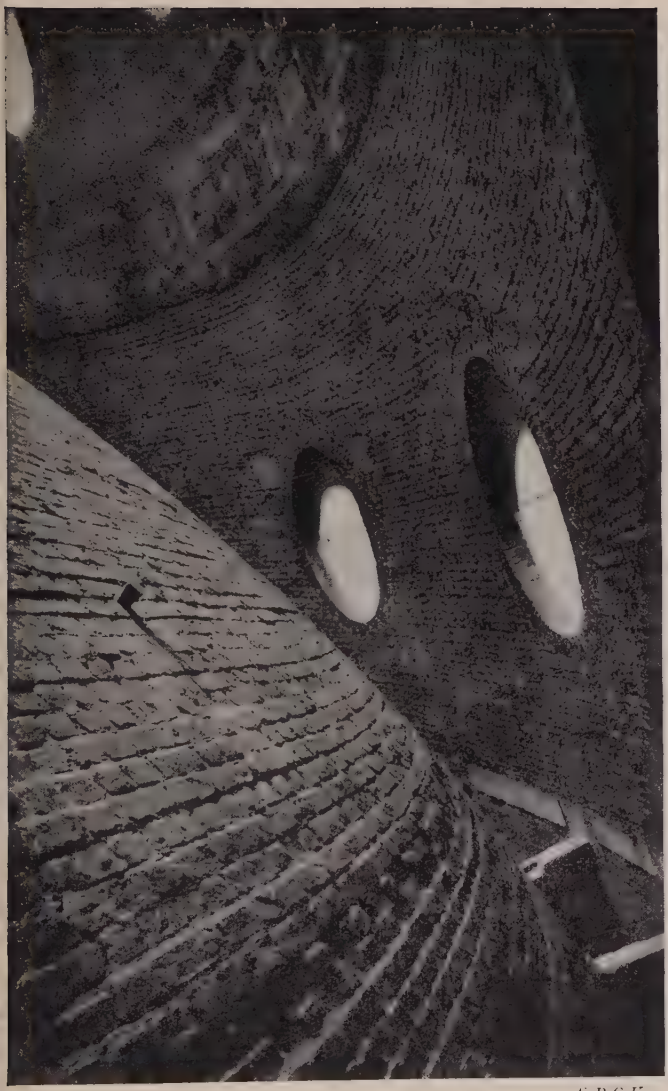
We have now reached the Jesus Chapel, which takes its name from its mediaeval forerunner in the crypt below. It has been made into a memorial to Canon H. P. Liddon, whose altar tomb with recumbent figure is on the south side. The picture over the altar is a copy of Cima di Conegliano's "Doubting Thomas" in the National Gallery, hardly an appropriate subject for one of so robust a faith as Liddon! The three windows are by Kempe: that on the south shows St.Stephen preaching, the centre has the sacred monogram elaborately treated in heraldic fashion, and that on the north is the Annunciation. Of the whole design this east end has always been the weak spot, and is no better to-day. Cramped and dark, it is impossible to see the picture, and the chapel resolves itself into little more than a passage-way behind the reredos. Let us leave it by Tijou's fellow gate to that just described and go through into the north quire aisle and see Sir William Richmond's window of St. Paul preaching at Athens, put up in memory of the fourth Earl of Carnarvon. Now we have come to the chancel screen corresponding to that on the south side. This, too, is made up of old and new material in a different design incorporating four medallions of the Evangelists by Tijou, which should not be missed (illus. opp. pp. 112-3). Through the gate we find ourselves able to examine the altar and reredos of 1888 at close quarters. The latter has a base relieved by upright oblong panels, and with a door

on either side of wrought iron and brass, above which are angels bearing the arms of the See and the emblems of St. Peter and St. Paul. Over this is a series of marble panels with figures upon them in *basso relievo*. In the centre rises a sculptured representation of the Crucifixion beneath an entablature and frieze with the inscription, *Sic Deus dilexit mundum* ("God so loved the world") and a pediment, all supported on four twisted columns wreathed with foliage in gilded bronze. On either side is a semi-circular open colonnade. Above the pediment are more statuettes with Our Lady and her Child in a central niche, the whole crowned by the figure of the Risen Lord. The main bulk of the material used is white Parian marble with rosso antico, verde di Prato, and Brescia marbles for the panel work. The models for the sculpture were made by Mr. Guellemin, those for ornament by Mr. George, and the gilded bronzework by Messrs. Longden & Co., while the whole is the production of Messrs. Farmer and Brindley. The altar is of bronze and ebony, the gift of Mrs. Ambrose, sister of Dr. Liddon. The two tall bronze candlesticks are interesting as being replicas made in 1891 by Barkentin and Krall from the originals in the Cathedral of St. Bavon at Ghent. These last were made by one Benedetto da Rovezzano for Cardinal Wolsey, and bear a shield of arms, quarterly France and England, but were never used, and so in the end found their way abroad like some other things, as will be seen hereafter. At the south-east corner of the stalls is the bishop's throne, elaborately carved and containing "ye great velvet chaire" made in 1697, so the accounts tell

us, by John Bernard, the upholsterer, "for ye Bishop's Throne," at a total cost of about thirty-three shillings. What is it worth to-day! The remainder of the north aisle is reserved for vestries, including another bastion used by the minor canons and organist, which has a delightful entrance staircase (illus. opp. p. 128) with a little touch of decoration and panelling designed in perspective. Both the entrance and the plaster ornamented ceiling are the same as those in the Dean's Vestry opposite. We must therefore return down the south aisle and, having done so, the visitor should turn to the right past the pulpit designed by Mr. Penrose in memory of Captain Robert Fitzgerald, from which, when about to deliver a sermon, any clergyman new to the Cathedral is advised, according to Canon Newbolt, "to preach right across the dome at the statue of Sir Joshua Reynolds and to remember that he was deaf"! Then to the quire gates, with their quaint gnome-like little heads which are well worth inspection. They, too, are the work of Tijou, and were originally used as the altar rails (illus. opp. p. 129). In connexion with all this ironwork, it is to be noted that although where the paint has come off it has rusted to a very slight extent, nevertheless it is as nothing compared to the active decay of the modern work such as that in front of the choristers' stalls. For some time it was thought that this comparative immunity was due to the metal having been charcoal smelted, but the iron for the above stalls, which is said to have been specially brought from Scandinavia where that method of smelting still obtains, shows that this idea does not hold good. The writer is

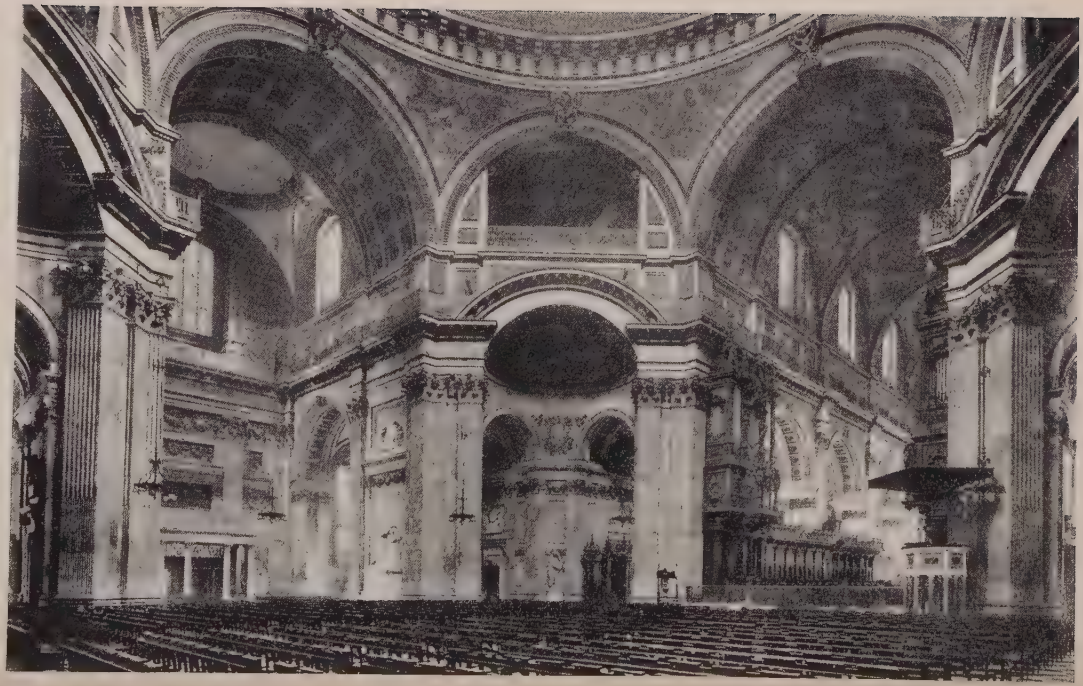
told by Mr. J. H. Every, of Lewes, an expert practical iron-founder, that his own experience shows that the immersion of newly-made castings into hot boiled oil is a sovereign specific against rust even with iron exposed to sea air. Probably, therefore, it is in some such direction that an explanation of this little mystery must be sought. From this point also can be seen the beautiful carving in oak and limewood of the quire stalls and organ case by Grinling Gibbon (illus. opp. pp. 136-7), carving which for its dexterity is not to be surpassed. Below the stalls proper are what have always been called the "Long Seats," which are available for public use on ordinary occasions. Near by is the Brass Eagle or lectern on a square pedestal supported by four lions, weighing 17 cwt., and made in 1719 by the founder, Jacob Sutton. It was formerly surrounded by railings, but these have now gone.

Leaving on our right another Tijou gate similar to that at the opposite aisle, we continue on into the north transept by what is known as the Musicians' Aisle, passing the tablet with list of organists on our left, and memorials to Sir Arthur Sullivan and Sir John Stainer on the right. Straight opposite is the St. Cecilia window by Messrs. Clayton and Bell, given by Mr. C. T. D. Crews, the master, on behalf of the Musicians' Company, in 1906, to commemorate the restoration of the annual service of the Company in the Cathedral. The door of this transept must be specially noticed. It is composed of marble columns made by Edward Strong, supporting a long panel with gilded lettering which was in the first place part of the screen which until 1859



S.P.C.K.

BETWEEN INNER DOME AND CONE



The Dean and Chapter

DOME AREA : LOOKING NORTH-EAST

stretched across the west end of the quire to support the organ. The finely-worded inscription is as follows: *Subtus conditur Huius Ecclesiae Et Urbis Conditor Christopherus Wren Qui Vixit Annos Ultra*

SUBTUS CONDITUR HUIUS ECCLESIAE ET URBIS
CONDITOR CHRISTOPHERUS WREN QUI VIXIT
ANNOS ULTRA NONAGINTA NON SIBI SED
BONO PUBLICO LECTOR SI MONUMENTUM REQUIRIS
CIRCUMSPICE
OBIIT XXV FEB AETATIS
ANO MDCCXXIII.

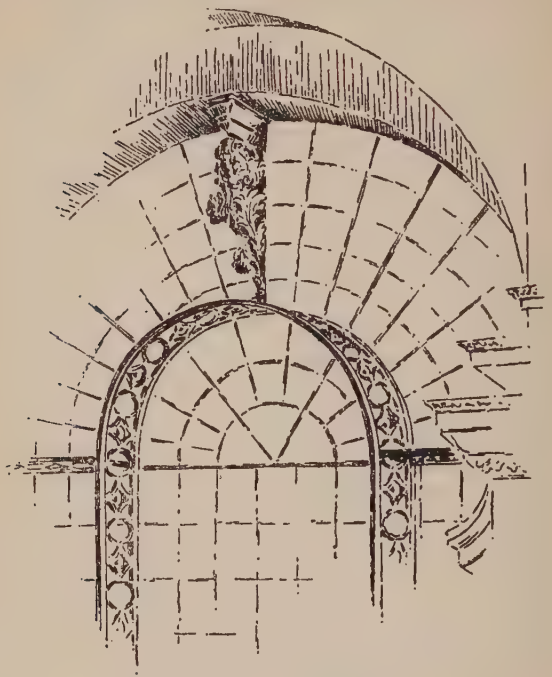
NORTH TRANSEPT DOOR

Nonaginta Non Sibi Sed Bono Publico. Lector, Si Monumentum Requiris, Circumspice ("Beneath lies buried the founder of this Church and City, Christopher Wren, who lived more than ninety years not to his own end but for the public good. Reader, if

you desire his monument, look around you.") The composition of these dignified lines is attributed sometimes to Wren's son and sometimes to Robert Mylne, the surveyor, but Dr. Simpson shows that this last gentleman would only have been about seventeen years of age in 1750 when "Parentalia" containing the inscription came out, which therefore probably puts him out of court. Notice, too, over the swing doors beneath, further remains of the old entrance to the quire in the shape of part of the original ironwork frieze. It is, however, difficult to see from either side. The window by Kempe adjoining on the west is to the memory of Dr. J. A. Hussey, who died in 1892. We follow round and reach the last of the four bastions which contains the Lord Mayor's vestry. It lacks the pleasing entrance of the other two, but has a different and in some ways more interestingly decorated ceiling (illus. opp. p. 128), showing a good deal of foreign influence with a better design and finer workmanship, the last due to the fact that it is of stone, not plaster as in the other cases. We come out, cast a glance as hasty as possible at the tomb of the two Viscounts Melbourne, by Baron Marochetti, with its black doors and two die-away angels (they do these monstrosities better in the Campo Santo at Genoa !), and turn to admire Alfred Stevens's magnificent monument to the Duke of Wellington (illus. opp. p. 144). Space does not allow of a detailed story of its twenty long years in the making, 1858–78, of the dilatoriness and ill-health of the artist which ended in his having to be *employed* by Mr. Collman, who, as a decorator and business man, had to be called in to take charge

of the work ; of its confinement in the south-west chapel where no one could see it, and of the objection raised to the bringing in of such an "accessory" as the duke on horseback "within the sacred edifice"! Indeed, this finishing touch did not arrive until 1912! The materials are mainly bronze and Carrara marble, the former being the work of Messrs. Young, of Pimlico. The columns supporting the canopy are covered with imbricated oak leaves and above are allegorical figures representing "Valour crushing Cowardice" and "Truth tearing out the tongue of Fraud." The design has been fairly criticized on the ground that, although the duke was so particularly a Christian and a man of duty, there is no emblem of his religion anywhere to be seen ; as Dean Milman writes, "it is a monument where we look to the art of the designer and comparatively forget the story of the man." It will be just as well to call attention at this point to something in the windows which should not be overlooked, because by standing close at the eastern end of the monument a good light can be obtained. The thing in question is the inner iron framework with bold but simple decoration, and with what is to all intents and purposes an iron "keystone" wreathed with foliage. This seems to have been the work of Tijou and probably intended for ornament, although it is possible that it was thought advisable to give the windows some support against wind pressure. Four of these iron "keystones," or "scrowles" as the Fabric Rolls have it, may be seen nearer at hand in the crypt by Wellington's tomb. A little farther on lies General Gordon, who was murdered

at Khartoum in 1885 (illus. opp. p. 145). His epitaph very finely says, " who at all times and everywhere gave his strength to the weak, his substance to the poor, his sympathy to the suffering, his heart to the



IRON WINDOW FRAMEWORK

good." You will seldom, if ever, see this tomb without a few flowers upon it. Just beyond, on the wall, is a good cartoon by Sir E. J. Poynter, recently put up by Canon Alexander. Some more by the same artist are to be found in the north-west or St. Dunstan's Chapel, which corresponds to the Chapel of

St. Michael and St. George opposite. Here at the east end are the first mosaics done by Richmond in the Cathedral, and which ultimately led to his being given the work of decorating the quire and aisles. Opposite at the west end is another mosaic by Salviati, portraying the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, given in memory of Archdeacon Hale. The window to Dean Mansel is by Hardman, of Birmingham. From the vault hangs a chandelier, dated 1778, and formerly in the church of St. Mildred, Poultry. The screen here was also carved by Maine and the railing made by Robinson. Finally, on the ground floor of the north-west tower, is the Kitchener Memorial Chapel, fitted up at a cost of about £22,000 by the Committee of the Lord Kitchener National Memorial Fund, with the idea that the chapel should commemorate the spirit of sacrifice shown by the army during the Great War. Above the altar is a fine Piéta or figure of the Dead Christ, supported by St. Mary Magdalene, and at the foot lies the figure of Horatio Herbert, Lord Kitchener, in white marble. The sculpture is by Mr. W. Reid Dick, A.R.A., and the 4½ ft. high silver candlesticks, made in 1901 of a handsome eighteenth-century design, are the gift of the London Rifle Brigade. In a recess in the north wall is the Roll of Honour of the Royal Engineers, of which regiment Lord Kitchener was Colonel-in-Chief, together with volumes relating to the Engineer Corps of the Dominions and the sappers and miners of the Indian army. The chapel was dedicated on December 10, 1925, at a simple service by the dean.

It should also be observed that the electric light fittings throughout the Cathedral are from the

design of Mr. Somers Clarke, and were the gift, in 1902, of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.

Having now finished the ground floor, let us go back to the south transept and descend into the crypt, unusual in that it extends under the whole of the building for a length of some 450 ft.

We enter and at once find ourselves passing graves and monuments of well-known engineers and surveyors. In the third bay on the right of the south aisle is the flat tomb of Sir Christopher Wren, with its simple but eloquent statement, "the builder of this Cathedral," cheek by jowl with many famous artists. Hard by is the monument to his daughter, Jane Wren, who died in 1702 at the early age of twenty-six. She seems to have inherited many of her father's tastes, and it is small wonder, therefore, that for long she was his constant companion. To her love of books she added considerable skill as a musician, and tradition has it that the famous tower of the church of St. Dunstan in the East is due to a suggestion from her. Here, too, is the memorial to his equally brilliant sister, Susan, the first woman to be buried in the Cathedral, who made a name

W. HOLMAN HUNT

for herself by a medical knowledge which she is reported to have employed successfully upon many persons, including even the king himself. At the east end is a chapel newly fitted up at the expense of Canon J. G. Simpson, with panelling incorporating some old carving and iron grilles and having as its altar the large parquetted oak table on elaborately carved legs (7½ ft. by 5 ft. 1 in.), which was originally made for use as the high altar in the Cathedral above. The quire of the crypt is known as the Chapel of St. Faith, already referred to in the last chapter (illus. opp. p. 153). Up to 1878 the north quire aisle belonged to the parishioners, and the limits are marked at the crossing by ancient wooden gates, formerly belonging to the old quire screen in the church above, and a mosaic inscription on the floor to define the threshold. Another mosaic put down the same year in the place of the earlier railings by a number of female convicts from Woking, near the grave of Sir Arthur Sullivan, marks the southern boundary. There are to-day no actual parishioners but the Stationers' Company, who in old times used to worship in St. Faith's, now come in livery gowns together with the rector of St. Augustine with St. Faith's, Watling Street, on Ash Wednesday in each year and hold a service by way of commemoration. In the sanctuary are the few remaining fragments of tombs rescued from old St. Paul's. On the south side, Sir Nicholas Bacon and Sir Thomas Heneage and wife; on the north, the sitting figures of John Wolley and wife, with four shields below bearing arms: "on a chevron a double-headed eagle displayed imp., a cross charged with five

étoiles," and on beyond Sir William Hewitt and Sir William Cokayne. Under the south-east window is a delightful tablet, with cherubs' heads, to Sir Simon Baskerville, " Dr. in Phisicke," d. 1641, by Nicholas Stone, which is worthy of a better position, and opposite in the same embrasure the remains of the slab commemorating Brian Walton, a very fine scholar, Prebendary of Twyford and afterwards Bishop of Chester. We shall meet with a specimen

TOMB : SIR A. SULLIVAN

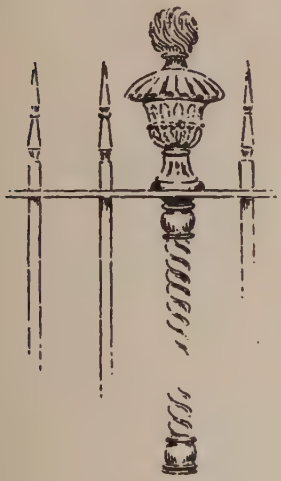
of his learning later on in the library. The three windows in a chiaroscuro of brown and yellow show our Lord taken down from the cross and being enshrouded, in the centre, and our Lord being carried to the tomb, on the north and south. They were the gift of the Young Men of the City of London, and are signed and dated, N. J. Westlake, 1878, by whom they were designed and made. The draughtsmanship and composition are worth noting, and many will not object to the quiet soft colouring.

A. Hester

CHAPEL OF ST. MICHAEL AND ST. GEORGE: MAINE'S SCREEN

CHAPEL OF ST. MICHAEL AND ST. GEORGE

Passing west we reach a number of small pillars running across the nave, which obviously do not fit in as part of the original design. These, in fact, were put in afterwards when Wren had been compelled, contrary to his own intention, to arrange a screen across the quire, on which was placed the organ. Note the original iron railings, the vases of which are made to take off. We now come to the



CRYPT RAILINGS

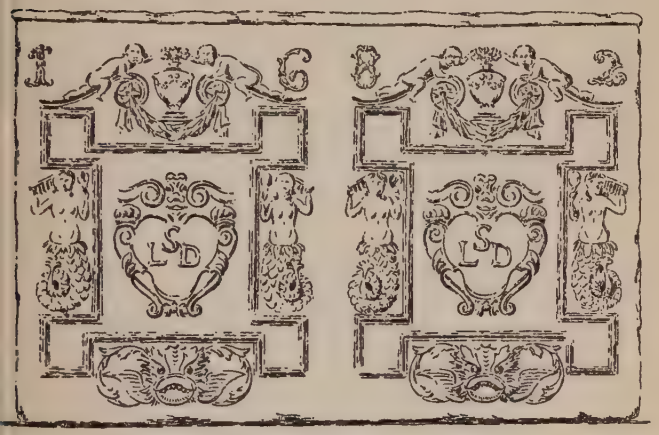
IRON "KEYSTONE"

tomb of the Duke of Wellington, given by Queen Victoria, composed of two mighty masses of Cornish marble on a base of Peterhead granite, the whole weighing seventeen tons (illus. opp. p. 145). The flags of England (two), Spain, Portugal, Austria, and Prussia were those carried in the funeral procession. In the four corners of this chamber are specimens of the iron "keystones" referred to, p. 67. And now we

come beneath the dome area to find the most famous tomb in all the Cathedral, namely that of Horatio, Viscount Nelson (illus. opp. p. 160). It has an interesting position amid an octagon of pillars, which form with the vaulting a strangely-shaped arcading. The casket is long anterior to the great admiral, for it was made by Benedetto da Rovezzano to take the body of Cardinal Wolsey. With the great man's fall it came to Henry VIII, who marked it for himself and his queen, Anne Boleyn, but again another premature departure left the tomb unused, this time for some three hundred years. Wheatley tells us that the coffin within was appropriately made from the mainmast of the French ship *L'Orient*, captured by Captain Hallowell, of the *Swiftsure*, at the Battle of the Nile. It is surely not without significance that between the resting-places of these two great fighters should be found a tablet to Miss Florence Nightingale, d. 1910, the first person to make any real attempt to alleviate some of the pain and misery which must inevitably come from war, however honourably and successfully waged. Still going westward we pass the tomb of George Nottage, one of only two lord mayors (the other, William Beckford, d. 1770), who, having died during his term of office, would be entitled to the privilege of having the great bell of St. Paul's tolled for him. Quite at the west end is that rather barbaric creation the funeral car of the Duke of Wellington, cast, from captured cannon, at Woolwich Arsenal in the short space of eighteen days in order to be in time for the funeral. In the crypt also will shortly be placed a bronze " Redemption," designed

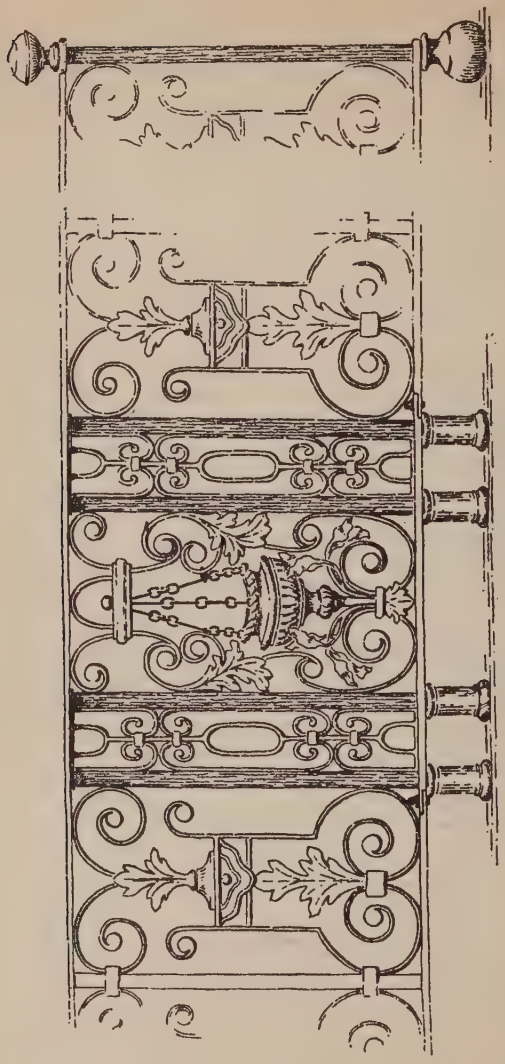
by John S. Sargent, R.A., and put up as his memorial by the Royal Academy. It shows our Lord crucified with two figures, representing our first parents and so Humanity in general, bound to Him and His cross by a broad cloth and holding up cups to catch the blood falling from His hands.

We now return upstairs and make our way to the south-west bastion to pay a visit to the upper parts of the Cathedral. The stairs at first are easy to



SOUTH TRIFORIUM: LEAD CISTERN

negotiate and soon bring us to the triforium level, where we step aside to visit the Library. On the way we see some of the Poynter and Leighton cartoons on the walls (p. 149), and on the right five lead rain-water cisterns of dates varying from 1682 to 1782. Farther on, a pulpit with elaborately carved base, apparently rather earlier in date than the upper part, which may be that designed in 1803 by



WEST END: IRON BALCONY

Mylne, and on the right again various fragments of the earlier Cathedral which have been found from time to time. Close by is the entrance to the Library, which is described elsewhere.

At this point, if request has been made to a verger before starting up the stairs, the public are able to visit the model of Wren's original design (p. 29), and also the Trophy Room. In order to reach these we have to pass across the west end, and in so doing get a very fine view of the whole length of the Cathedral. Here also is a gilded iron balcony designed by Wren, which is inclined to appear coarse when examined close at hand, but which from the floor below shows itself to be in admirable scale with the rest of the building. Mr. Starkie Gardner says that it is the work of Robinson, but Account Book W.B. 42, p. 158 (June, 1707), has the following entry : " To John Tijou for fine ironwork viz. : In ye Balcony at ye Wt. End—135 ft. ring of pannells at £2 4s. and 15 ft. 5 pillasters £7 9s.," making a total of £408 15s. The rest of the iron balustrading which runs all round the Cathedral is the design and gift of Mr. Somers Clarke. The great west window is also of Munich glass and, sheltered though it is by the portico, is very much the worse for wear. It was the gift, in 1866, of Mr. Thomas Brown, of the firm of Messrs. Longmans the publishers. Descending a few steps the model is reached and, although somewhat dilapidated, gives an excellent idea of Wren's design, more particularly so because it is possible to get inside and have a view of the interior as well. A little further and we enter the Trophy Room, so called because it was in

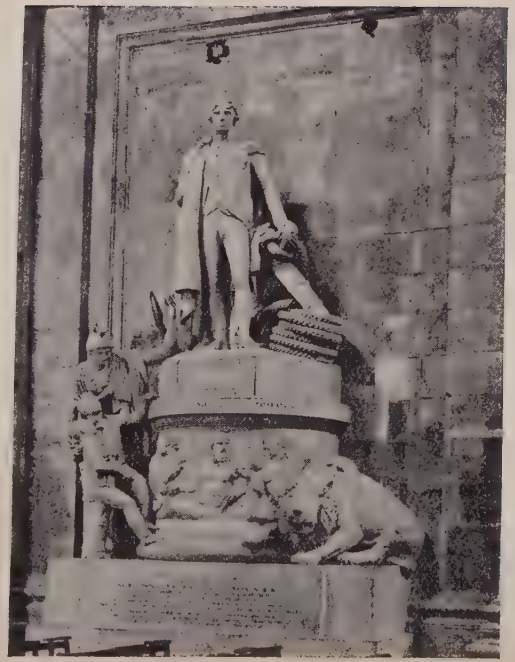
here that the trophies were assembled before being used at Nelson's funeral. It is similar in size and mode of decoration to the Library and was originally intended to serve the same purpose (illus. opp. p. 176). Returning now to the staircase up which we came, we continue the ascent and quickly come to the Whispering Gallery at the spring of the inner dome, which gets its name from the fact that any one sitting at the opposite side to the entrance can hear all that the guide standing there has to say to them although he is about 100 ft. away and speaks in a whisper. Do not forget while here to look up at the Thornhill cartoons (illus. opp. p. 209), which are best seen from this point. The statues in the niches between the windows were put up in 1892–4, and represent the "doctors" of the early Church. From here onwards the spiral ascent, "as an hop about the pole," becomes more tiring, but patience is ultimately rewarded when the Stone Gallery is reached. This gallery is running round on the top of the colonnade which is so conspicuous from the ground below. Here is buried the great chain referred to in the last chapter, and here, too, may be examined, by those who are chemically minded, the black incrustation which helps to give such a wonderful effect to the building. Mr. E. G. Clayton has found that this hard but brittle substance is chiefly "calcium sulphate (60%) hydrated together with some siliceous matter" and that neither calcium carbonate nor any fungoid growth is present. It is, in other words, the effect of many years of rain charged with sulphur from the neighbouring chimneys beating upon the stone. The attendant will have a further ticket to sell for a

visit to the Ball and Cross, and, although the ascent may seem rather fatiguing, the extra journey should be made all the same, by reason of the interest in what lies before. On entering by the door we see and pass through some of the thirty-two buttresses to the cone, which also support the timbers of the outer dome, and then carry down to become the buttresses of the peristyle (p. 46). From now onwards the visitor is going up between the cone and outer dome and were he able to see through the eighteen inches of the former in the lower part he would find himself near to the inner dome, as in the illus. opp. p. 64. While on the staircase note the steeply sloping cone wall on the one hand and the timbering which carries the outer dome on the other. At length, after many struggles, the panting climber will emerge upon the Golden Gallery, where he will be greeted with a magnificent view in return for all his pains and labour. A view indeed that he may well carry away with him as a treasured memory, for there is a something in the sight of London from a height which is to be found to the same extent nowhere else. There is no mystery about this " something " in itself, of course, for it is nothing more than the drifting smoke from innumerable chimneys, and yet what an effect it gives ! Like the soft clinging diaphanous garments worn by the heroines of mid-Victorian novelists, it only serves to add to the beauty of many a humdrum commercial building, drawing a kindly veil over the ugly roof and chimney-pot and investing everything with a sense of mystery. Then from out the murk peep towers and spires bathed in a soft

haze—many of them designed by Wren and including his masterpiece, that of Bow Church, tapering up only a couple of hundred yards or so to the East. This direction provides the best prospect, but from any side, to see all London in perspective, as it were, is worth climbing many stairs to see, to say nothing of Hampstead and Highgate, as "Phoenix Paulina" has it, lying "like two mole hills" in the distant north. Wheatley tells us that this Golden Gallery rail was made by Thomas Robinson at the cost of the Earl of Lanesborough, but if so it has long gone, for the present circle bears the name of the maker, "Walker, Harp Alley, 1832"; perhaps when one comes to think of it, a not altogether inappropriate *provenance*, although it must be confessed that they are no soft and dulcet strains which the winds wring from Mr. Walker's railing at a height of about 400 ft. above the river! Let us, then, get out of the breeze and, going inside the lantern, look through the little opening in the floor right down the full giddy height to the pavement below. There shall we see tiny microscopic specks moving about and note this as the only place from which to get a proper idea of the grey and black marble floor with its inlaid star of "yellow Rantz." Now comes the last awkward ascent. Scaling the ladders we see the iron frame supporting the ball and cross, and, squeezing through the narrow entrance, find ourselves beneath the little wooden dome with its gilded scroll work of cast iron. The ball and cross together are 23 ft. high and weigh about seven tons. The former is doubtfully said to be able to hold four persons, but is now wired off and cannot be entered.

S.P.C.K.

CHAPEL OF ST. MICHAEL AND ST. GEORGE: IRON PANEL BY TIJOU



S.P.C.K.

MONUMENT: LORD NELSON

S.P.C.K.

MONUMENT: LORD CORNWALLIS

CHAPTER V

THE ORGAN

AS is not infrequently the case, our material for an early account of this part of the equipment of the Cathedral is very scanty. In fact, the earliest instrument to be traced is that made by William Bylton, of King's Lynn, during the first half of the sixteenth century. This, according to the "Ancient Monuments, Rites, etc., of Durham" (Surtees Soc., Vol. XV, p. 14), was of special workmanship, with much gilding and ornamentation, and was one of only three of its kind in the kingdom, the others being at York and Durham. According to Hollar, this organ was placed in the third bay on the north side of the quire, and at the same time he shows a small instrument quite separate and behind the organist's seat, which the Rev. A. Freeman thinks must have been something of a later date. Both under 1552 and the next year there is a casual mention of the organ in the "Grey Friars' Chronicle," and Mr. Freeman quotes from Bishop Bancroft's "Visitation," in 1598, wherein it appears that the instrument had been "misused" in blowing and "wt. jogging the bellowes" by the public, who had been allowed by the bell-ringers to come up and examine it. H. Holland, writing early in the seventeenth century, refers to the "late sumptuous new

repairing and guilding of the Organes," and elsewhere says, "On the back side of the organ in divers places on the wall is written these words following with St. Paul's picture having a sword in his hand and a book lying by: *Mucro furor Sauli, liber est conversio Pauli,*" a motto taken from the old thirteenth century seal which is mentioned in the account of the Library (p. 118). The Cathedral archives throw an interesting little sidelight upon the Great Fire in an account dated 1667, which refers to one Mr. Quatermain, and says, "To the same for the Portage of the Choir books at the time of the Fire into the Fields (being three burthens) £— 9s. —d. and into Oxfordshire and back again at ¾d. per pound being 131 lbs." The only regret is that this gentleman's energy was not used to save the records, which were far more valuable than any quire book.

In 1694 the Dean and Chapter, on the advice of Wren and Dr. Blowe, the king's organist, gave an order to Bernard Smith for an organ with the following specification, taken from the article by the Rev. Andrew Freeman, F.R.C.O., in the "Organ" for May, 1922:

"The ffirst List

"*Stops in the Great Organ.* Two open Diapasons. Stop Diapason. Principall. Great Twelfth. ffifteenth. Cornet. Mixtures. Sesquialtera. Trumpet.

"*Stops in ye Chayre Organ.* Principall. Stop Diapason. Hol fleut. Voice Humane. Crumhorne.

"*Echoes or halfe stops.* Diapason. Principall Cornet. Trumpet.

"The Second List

"*Stops in the Great Organ.* Hol fleut. Small Twelfth.

"*Stops in the Chayre Organ.* Quinta dena Diapason. Great Twelfth. ffifteenth. Cimball.

"*Echoes or halfe stops.* ffifteenth. Nason."

The second list was to be put in six months later, and the whole was to cost £2,000. The range to be from double F faut to C sol fa in Alt inclusive.

Wren's ideas as to its position were completely different from those of the clergy, for he, rightly, wished to have the organ on one side of the quire, following, in point of fact, the old arrangement, but the Dean and Chapter wished it placed on the quire screen, and on the screen it had to go. Smith then determined to lower the tone from FFF to CCC, which involved more and longer pipes, but for which Wren declined to allow any more room. Smith thereupon omitted some other stops in order to keep within the original space, but his new long pipes compelled Wren to make an addition to the top of the case to cover them, of so pleasing a kind that we must feel grateful to Smith for his persistence. The whole case was the work of Charles Hopson, the joiner, and was then carved by Grinling Gibbon. Mr. Macpherson says that the pipes in front on the south side are some of "Father" Smith's original work. In the year 1698–9 there must one day have been a terrible panic, for once again the dreaded shout of "Fire!" rang through the building, as the room over the minor canon's vestry, now occupied by the organist and then being used by Smith for

his work, was found to be alight. Fortunately it was quenched before much damage was done, and the only trace of it left is a controversy as to the date when the event occurred! Smith's great rival, Renatus Harris, is thought to have had a hand in framing certain criticisms anent the instrument then being put up, which came out anonymously about this time, but it is more interesting to forget his professional jealousy and consider his suggestion for an additional organ at the west end. His idea was that it should be of a large and loud character "for the Benefit of swelling the Notes," and for State occasions when he evidently thought that extra noise was necessary. It was to have six manuals, pedals for the feet, a double double diapason, and various other special features, but was not intended to be used to accompany the ordinary services. In 1720 Christopher Schreider, the son-in-law of "Father" Smith, cleaned and added to the organ an entirely new and hitherto unknown feature, namely pedals, which, "for the exercise it afforded him," Burney, in his account of the 1784 Handel Commemoration, says was one of the reasons which attracted the great composer to come and play so often in St. Paul's. Later on, in 1757, John Crang was paid for putting in a new swell, and in 1802 Ohrmann and Nutt took the instrument to pieces and lowered it a semitone. About the same time a Mr. Leffler made a specification of the organ as it then was, which is given by Mr. C. W. Pearce in his useful little book, as also by Mr. Freeman. In 1826 the organ once more created a little record by being the first to be fitted with Mr. J. C. Bishop's con-

cussion bellows, which marked the beginning of a new era in this particular department by ensuring a steady supply of wind. Twenty-three years later further improvements and alterations were made, and Mr. Freeman gives the specification at this date. Another development arose in 1859, when it was decided to remove the quire screen. Again the organ was taken to pieces and rebuilt in the second bay on the north side of the quire, but it was found unsatisfactory, and four years later Mr. Henry Willis built it *de novo*. Of this Mr. Freeman also gives the specification. Yet once more this much-harried, restless instrument was taken down in 1871 and rebuilt in two parts to go into its present position on either side at the west end of the quire, and now it is going on its travels again while the Cathedral is being repaired.

As far as the case is concerned it is the original article with the "chair case," where the organist sits, on the northern side. That on the south side was designed by Mr. Penrose, the surveyor to the Dean and Chapter, and made by Messrs. Cubitt & Co., in order that both sides should correspond. Mr. Freeman pays a very handsome tribute to the share of Mr. Henry Willis not only in the arrangement but also in the building of the organ, a tribute which so excellent a craftsman well deserves. True artistry must of necessity have enthusiasm for one of its parents, and Mr. Willis exemplified this on the occasion of the Thanksgiving Service in 1872, when the organ was not yet finished. Mr. Freeman relates that the pedal organ being ready but not connected, Willis had a temporary pedal board fitted up below,

and while Mr. George Cooper, the assistant organist, played above, Willis worked the pedal board beneath. So admirable was the combination that none guessed the fact until the cat was let out of the bag! Those interested in specifications should again consult Mr. Freeman's article at this point. But if its position was settled, the organ was not, and so from 1897–1900 it underwent its last transformation, being so rebuilt, altered, and enlarged, by Messrs. Henry Willis & Sons, that it ranks to-day as one of the finest church organs to be found the world over. It, however, suffers from two little troubles. Firstly, the greater portion of the pedal organ and some of the tubas being in the north-east quarter dome, their pipes have had to be arranged to speak a trifle earlier than those in the quire so that the sounds may coincide, but as, in addition to this, there is a nine seconds echo from the said pedal organ and lack of sufficient power from the hydraulic machinery, the use of these stops is not encouraged. Secondly, behind the stalls on the north side there had to be buried, for the sake of appearance, the solo organ, in consequence of which, as another writer to the "Organ" says, it is "useless as regards accompanimental *support* of the choir, though I believe it is pretty generally admitted that the voicing of the seven reeds in this department has never been surpassed even if equalled." The altar organ is on the top of the stalls one bay further east.

It will by now have become fairly obvious how much the writer is indebted to Mr. Freeman's exhaustive article on the organ and its history, and this debt is now to be increased by the transference

therefrom of his specification of the present-day instrument which, subject to one or two minor alterations, Mr. Macpherson believes to be correct and up to date.

SPECIFICATION

S.=Smith, 1697. B.=Bishop, 1826 and 1849. W.=Willis, 1872. Unmarked=Willis, 1897–1900.

GREAT ORGAN. CC to C. Sixty-one notes

			ft.
S.*	Double Diapason	.. metal	16
W.	Open Diapason (1)	.. metal	8
	Open Diapason (2)	.. metal	8
S.	Open Diapason (3)	.. metal	8
	Open Diapason (4)	.. metal	8
	Open Diapason (5)	.. wood	8
W.	Quint	.. metal	$5\frac{1}{3}$
S.W.†	Principal ..	.. metal	4
W.	Flute harmonique	.. metal	4
W.	Twelfth	.. metal	$2\frac{2}{3}$
S.W.‡	Fifteenth ..	.. metal	2
W.	Fourniture ..	.. metal	III
W.	Mixture	.. metal	III
W.	Trombone ..	.. metal	16
W.	Tromba	.. metal	8
W.	Clarion	.. metal	4

SWELL ORGAN. CC to C. Sixty-one notes

			ft.
W.	Contra gamba ..	.. metal	16
W.	Open Diapason ..	.. metal	8

* Four lowest by Willis.
† Twenty-two lowest (except CC) by Smith.
‡ Twelve lowest (except CC) by Smith.

			ft.
W.	Lieblich Gedackt, wood and metal		8
W.	Salicional	metal	8
W.	Vox angelica (tenor C) ..	metal	8
W.	Principal	metal	4
W.	Fifteenth	metal	2
W.	Echo cornet	metal	III
W.	Contra posaune	metal	16
W.	Hautboy	metal	8
W.	Cornopean	metal	8
W.	Clarion	metal	4

CHOIR ORGAN. CC to C. Sixty-one notes

			ft.
S.*	Contra gamba	metal	16
W.	Open Diapason	metal	8
W.	Violoncello	metal	8
W.	Dulciana	metal	8
W.	Lieblich Gedackt, wood and metal		8
W.	Clarabella	wood	8
W.	Principal	metal	4
W.	Flute harmonique ..	metal	4
W.	Flageolet	metal	2
W.	Corno di bassetto.. ..	metal	8
W.	Cor anglais	metal	8

SOLO ORGAN. CC to C. Sixty-one notes

(All enclosed except the 8-ft. flute.)

			ft.
	Open Diapason	metal	8
	Gamba	metal	8
W.	Flute	metal	8
	Flute harmonique ..	metal	8

* Treble by Willis, 1897.

S.P.C.K.

QUIRE AISLE GATES BY TIJOU

A. Hester

SOUTH QUIRE AISLE

			ft.
W.	Concert Flute	metal	4
	Piccolo	metal	2
	Contra fagotto	metal	16
	Contra posaune	metal	16
W.	Corno di bassetto ..	metal	8
	Cor anglais	metal	8
W.	Orchestral Hautboy ..	metal	8
	Cornopean	metal	8
	Trumpet	metal	8

Altar Organ

Played from solo keys; in a swell box whose shutters are controlled by the solo swell pedal.

		ft.
Contra gamba	metal	16
Gamba	metal	8
Vox angelica, 2 ranks (tenor C)	metal	8
Vox humana	metal	8

Tuba Organ. CC to C. Sixty-one notes

Dome Division

		ft.
Double Tuba	metal	16
Tuba	metal	8
Clarion	metal	4

Chancel Division

			ft.
W.	Tuba	metal	8
W.	Clarion	metal	4

None of the tubas are enclosed.

PEDAL ORGAN. CCC to G. Thirty-two notes

Dome Division

			ft.
W.	Double Diapason (open)	wood	32
B.	Open Diapason	wood	16
S.*	Open Diapason	wood	16
	Open Diapason	metal	16
S.?	Principal	metal	8
W.	Violoncello	metal	8
W.	Mixture	metal	III
W.	Contra posaune	wood	32
W.	Bombarde	metal	16
W.	Clarion	metal	8

Chancel Division

			ft.
	Open Diapason	wood	16
	Violone	metal	16
	Bourdon	wood	16
	Octave	wood	8
	Ophicleide	metal	16

COUPLERS AND ACCESSORY STOPS

Swell to great super.
Swell to great unison.
Swell to great sub.
Dome Tubas to great.
Chancel Tubas to great.
Tuba to Solo (never completed.)
Solo to swell.
Swell to choir.

* Upper part old, lower part 1897.

Solo on
Altar on } Both can be used if desired.

*Tuba to pedals (duplicated)
*Solo to pedals.
*Swell to pedals (duplicated).
*Great to pedals (duplicated).
*Choir to pedals (duplicated).
Great pistons to composition pedals.
Swell pistons to composition pedals.
Coupler for swell pedals.
Tremulant to altar.
†Hydraulic engine.

Cantoris
Decani
Succentor } three signals for speaking tube.

Accessories

Four pistons to tuba.
Six pistons to solo.
Six pistons to swell.
Eight pistons to great.
Six pistons to quire.
One piston "great to pedal" on and off.
One piston dome and chancel tubas to great on and off.
Eight "general" pistons in the key cheeks acting on the other pistons.
Seven composition pedals to pedal.

* These five couplers are "mechanical."

† When this knob is drawn weights are actuated by high pressure wind from crypt which open starting valves of the hydraulic engines supplying the dome organ. The chancel part is still supplied by Willis's air pump plant and Crossley gas engine.

Table of Wind Pressures

Great.—Flue work, 3½ in. (bass) and 5 in. (treble); reeds, 7 in.

Swell.—Flue work, 3½ in.; reeds, 7 in.

Quire.—Reeds and flute harmonique, 4½ in.; rest, 3½ in.

Altar.—3½ in. throughout.

Solo.—Contra posaune and trumpet, 17 in.; contra fagotto, cor anglais, and cornopean, 7 in.; remainder of reeds and all flue work, 3½ in.

Tuba.—*Dome*: 20 in. (bass) and 25 in. (treble). *Chancel*: 14½ in. (bass) and 17 in. (treble).

Pedal.—*Dome*: Flue work, 3½ in.; contra posaune, 6¾ in.; bombarde and clarion, 20 in. *Chancel*: Flue work, 3½ in.; ophicleide, 17 in.

Five manuals, seventy-six speaking stops, and twenty-seven accessory stops and 4,822 speaking tubes. The illustration opposite p. 108 shows well these manuals and stops with an excellent panel of modern (1907) carved wood by T. Colley at the back.

Action is pneumatic and tubular pneumatic for the main portion and electro-pneumatic for the dome organ. The pneumatic action is on the 1889 principle of Willis. The pitch decided on was C524.

Of other organs possessed by the Cathedral one is to be found in the north quire aisle, made by Willis in 1881 on a moveable platform so that it can be used anywhere as is now being done during the time of repair. Prior to the placing of the organ at the west end of the quire it was found necessary to have an organ under the dome to accompany the

Sunday evening services, and an instrument was bought which had been made by Messrs. Hill & Son in 1853 for the Panopticon of Science and Art! How many know that the successor to this old-fashioned and serious sounding title is the gay and frivolous Alhambra Theatre in Leicester Square? There is also a "Positive" organ in the crypt, enclosed in a Renaissance case designed by Mr. L. E. G. Collins, A.R.I.B.A., the whole being the gift in 1900 of certain ladies to commemorate the eightieth birthday of Queen Victoria.

The following is a list of organists and notes taken mainly from Mr. J. S. Bumpus and Mr. J. E. West. The early dates are uncertain.

c.1530–40.	John Redford.
1591–.	Thomas Morley, well known as a madrigal writer.
? 1600.	? Edward Pearce.
? 1621–? 4.	John Tomkins, buried in the Cathedral.
d. 1637.	Adrian Batten.
? 1638–	Albertus Bryan.
? 1687.	? Isaac Blackwell (per Mr. West).
? 1693.	? John Blowe (per Mr. Bumpus). In 1700 he bought a harpsichord for the singing boys.
1695–1707.	Jeremiah Clark.
1707–18.	Richard Brind.
1718–55.	Maurice Greene, Mus.Doc. The first Vicar Choral who did not sing.
1755–96.	John Jones.
1796–1838.	Thomas Attwood.
1838–72.	Sir John Goss, Mus.Doc.

1872–88. Sir John Stainer, M.A., Mus.Doc.
1888–1916. Sir George C. Martin, Mus.Doc.
1916– Charles Macpherson, Mus.Doc.

One or two little stories may perhaps find a place here. Poor Jeremiah Clark! crossed in love and on his way to London with thoughts of suicide in his mind came to a likely pond surrounded by trees. Unable to decide whether to hang or drown he tossed up but the coin fell on its edge and stuck in the mud! He went on to the capital and later, disregarding the obvious lesson, he shot himself in 1707, this time from fear of a rival in music rather than for love it was said, whereupon an ode was written upon him ending up:

> Let us not therefore wonder at his fall
> Since 'twas not so unnatural
> For him who lived by Canon to expire by Ball!

To Maurice Greene came good fortune in more ways than one, for in his day the great Handel, stout of figure and in a white wig, used to attend the afternoon service and play the organ afterwards, with Greene in humble admiration blowing the instrument! Coming into money later on, Greene had leisure to originate and embark upon that excellent work which, after his death, was completed and published as Boyce's "Cathedral Music." He was buried in St. Olave's, Old Jewry, and when that church was pulled down Greene's remains were taken to St. Paul's and appropriately placed in the grave of Dr. Boyce. Again, it is not surprising to find a pupil of Mozart also enthusiastic, and so we get Thomas Attwood quaintly saying: "It is all very

well that they agree to pay me for playing, for, if they did not, I should be happy to pay them for letting me play" ! Finally we come to Sir John Stainer, who brought quite a new spirit into the music of the Cathedral, and whose habit of the soft playing of the well-known suffrage, "And take not Thy Holy Spirit from us," has been well termed Dr. Stainer's "St. Paul's Use" !

Having dealt with the organ and its players, we follow on naturally to the singers, whose history is more than usually interesting in spite of the loss of so many of the early records. The choir and its school seems to have been founded in embryo in 1127 by Bishop Richard de Belmeis in connexion with the almonry, and some sixty years or so later there is a reference to almonry boys, but nothing which definitely associates them with the services of the church. The Cathedral statutes also, in 1263, deal with the office of almoner who, besides his ordinary duties, was bidden to have eight boys whom he was to educate generally and for work in the church. As a matter of fact they were supposed to be entitled to free education at the Grammar School by the east end of the Cathedral (the predecessor of Colet's foundation), but the schoolmaster there always tried to exact a fee. Mr. Leach, in his excellent article in "Archaeologia," quotes the will of William de Tolleshunt, in 1329, who had once been almoner, and who left a shilling to each senior and sixpence to each junior "of the boys of the church whom I educated in the almonry." A previous bequest in 1315 gave a house in Sermon Lane for the benefit of one or two of the almonry

boys " after they have changed their voices." These two wills show clearly that these almonry boys were choir-boys and that here we have the beginnings of the present day choir school in Carter Lane for the " Children of St. Paul's." Incidentally, as regards this title, it must be remembered that in early days it was also applied to the boys in the grammar school, and that it is not always easy to decide which set of boys is intended. Late in the fourteenth century the choristers are found acting scriptural plays, and afterwards joining with the choir-boys of the Chapel Royal and Westminster Abbey in producing serious drama, including Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. Towards the end of the sixteenth century this acting was stopped, and although revived in 1600 was finally put an end to twenty-six years later and not attempted again for just two hundred and fifty years. Their numbers for long remained about eight or ten, but to-day they are, by the Statute of 1878, kept up to forty, and have a special short service on being admitted to the choir. The men, too, have had an interesting history. Originally the vicars choral were eighteen in number, of whom twelve were in holy orders known as minor canons (p. 140) and the remainder lay clerks, who were also an independent body. Owing to the poor attendance of the minor canons, the numbers available for the services tended to be short, and ultimately the minor canons left the choir and (1879) twelve assistant vicars choral were added, so that there are now six on each side on weekdays and the full number of nine on Sundays. The education of the choir-boys had always left much to be desired,

S.P.C.K.

QUIRE STALLS: CARVED WOODEN PANEL

S.P.C.K.

QUIRE STALLS: CARVED WOODEN PANEL

S.P.C.K.

S.P.C.K.

no doubt because those responsible were not supposed to have any remuneration for that part of their work. Money was bequeathed from time to time, as e.g. : " Item to chorysters of Paules yerely for their somer lyveres " (i.e. summer clothes), but gradually these funds became diverted, and by the time the early part of the nineteenth century was reached it was found that the choristers were getting no schooling at all. Thereupon a certain lady, Miss Hackett, took the matter up, and by dint of much research backed by an action at law in 1814, she ultimately dragged these errant funds from the reluctant Chapter and the education of the boys was really begun, although it was not until 1874 that they reached their present home in Carter Lane. To this energetic lady the choir-boys owe a heavy debt of gratitude.

From a delightful series of four " Memoirs " by an old singing boy, in the August numbers of the " Church Times " for 1924, the writer would like to steal a couple of notes. In the first place we are told how Holman Hunt used constantly to attend the choir practices for the purpose of his picture, " May Morning on Magdalen Tower," and that in consequence " the tower and skies and flowers are those of Oxford but the boys—or at least the mouths—are those of ' The Children of Paul's ' " ! Again, we are given the story of one boy on the Cantoris side who was seen to be making faces during the service. On being questioned afterwards he explained that he did it because somebody opposite was making grimaces at him. Further inquiry showed that the supposed enemy was none other

than Harvey Goodwin, Bishop of Carlisle, who suffered from a kind of St. Vitus's dance! Discipline seems to have been strict in those days, not the least desperate part being the knowledge that any unlucky wight who left the Cathedral before service was finished, would find himself greeted elsewhere by the school matron, whose invariable remedy, or punishment, was a dose of castor oil! Nevertheless, in spite of, or more probably because of, this stern upbringing, it was the opinion of many of the best judges of music that the choir of St. Paul's between 1880–90 was the finest in Europe, and Mr. Bumpus reports Gounod as saying that the sung Eucharist in this Cathedral was the most superb thing this side of the Alps. This sense of discipline was an old tradition, however, for about the year 1686 the Rev. W. Holder, Wren's brother-in-law, Canon of St. Paul's and Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, was so well known for his strictness in the matter of the choir that he received the nickname of "Mr. Snub-Dean." On the other hand, this enforcement of order was partly brought about by the ill behaviour of the boys earlier in the century. They were entitled to "spur money," i.e. to demand a fine from any one coming to the Cathedral and wearing spurs, which in those days were confined to knights or higher ranks. This fine they exacted most peremptorily during the service, making much noise to the scandal of the worshippers and, of course, not doing their duty. The victim's only hope of escape was to call upon the youngest chorister to repeat his "gamut" as a test of knowledge, and if he failed, then the knight had

not to pay. Mention is made of this custom as early as 1598, and it lingered on until the nineteenth century.

One word upon the rendering of various oratorios for which the Cathedral has become famous. Perhaps they are best put in the form of a little table, some details for which have been kindly supplied by Mr. Charles Macpherson.

ADVENT. 1878–1902 (with orchestra from 1888). Spohr's "Last Judgment." Since that date the "Requiem" of Brahms and Mozart have been more generally sung, with orchestra.

CHRISTMAS. Bach's Christmas Oratorio, Parts I and II, with orchestra.

FEAST OF THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL. High Celebration, Cathedral choir with orchestra. Since 1873, selections from Mendelssohn's "St. Paul," now with orchestra and chorus of 250 voices, at Evensong.

TUESDAY IN HOLY WEEK. Since 1873. Bach's Passion Music ("St. Matthew") with orchestra and additional special choir as above.

SONS OF THE CLERGY FESTIVAL. Held about the middle of May, with orchestra and special choir.

The Cathedral's collection of printed music is said to be without a rival in the kingdom.

THE SONG OF PAUL'S CHILDREN

(From the "Choristers' Magazine," June, 1892)

By Henry Scott Holland

Though far away we scatter
In years that are to come,
And tread the land of strangers,
Across the ocean foam;
Yet still our hearts will travel
Back to the ancient home,
And sing the songs of childhood
Beneath the big blue Dome!
Home again! Home again!
Beneath the big blue Dome again!
Ah! would we ne'er might roam again
But sing the songs of home again,
Under the blessed Dome.

That is the egg that hatched us,
Hung up there in the sky;
We were the happy White-birds
Baked in the big blue pie!
We hummed away and buzzed there,
Like bees in a blue hive,
And honey we shall find there
As long as we shall live.
And oh! to be at Home again!
Beneath the blessed Dome again!
And suck the honey-comb again,
And buzz and hum at home again,
Under the big blue Dome.

They sing their 'Dulce Domum'
At a younger school than ours,
Where clear and white, the chalk streams
Run fast by Wickham's towers;
But we, too, in black London,
Sing a chorus of our own,
Of Domum, Dulce Domum,
Our Dome and Home in one.

So Dome again and Home again !
Our Dulce Dulce Dome again !
The Dome that is our own again,
Our very very own again !
Oh ! sweet to feel at home again,
And in and out to roam again,
About the dear old Dome.

We sit on stuffy stools now,
And grind at office sums,
But still around the old Dome
The noise of London hums ;
And other chicks are hatched there,
And sing, so fair and fine,
The songs that once we sang there
In days of "Auld Lang Syne."
And oh ! that we were home again !
Beneath the blessed Dome again !
And never more might roam again,
But each might have his own again,
And find his happy home again,
Home again ! Home again !
Under the big blue Dome.

CHAPTER VI

PLATE

INVENTORIES of church plate are perhaps better calculated to make the mouth of the average antiquary to water than almost any other record of ancient days. Such no doubt will be the experience of him who reads through those of St. Paul's, for the catalogues of the possessions of the ancient Cathedral are fairly numerous and full and go back many years.

The earliest inventory is dated 1245, and is written on the fly-leaves of the volume in the Library containing the " Statuta Majora." Those who wish for full details should consult " Archaeologia," and it will suffice to mention here just one or two only of many interesting things. For example, the Cathedral possessed, among other valuables, five gold and eleven silver gilt chalices, of which one, ornamented with lions and leopards, had been given by the king, and another had its foot decorated with " flores glageoli," by which presumably is meant the Gladiolus. Cruets, censers, and such-like necessaries are abundant, together with " pomes " or hollow metal balls for warming the hands, a cross adorned with that somewhat uncommon scene, the Resurrection of Adam, and vestments innumerable. Shrines, of course, were important, notably that of St. Erkenwald covered with plates of silver and embellished

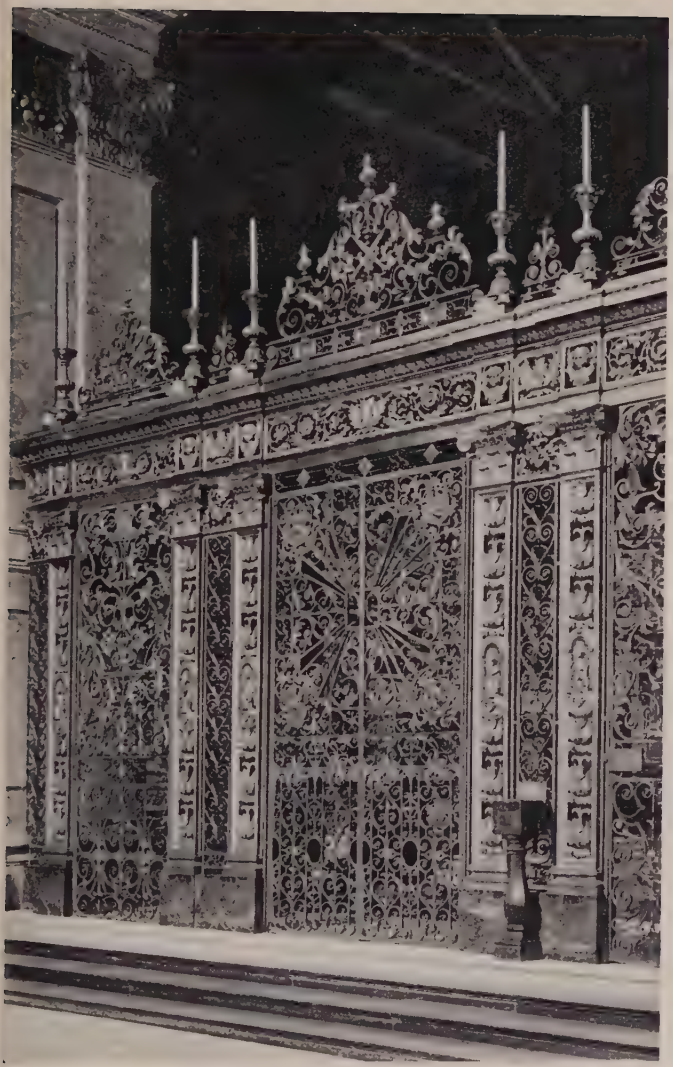
with precious stones and a silver angel at either end. This, together with that of St. Mellitus, is described as being *in magno altare*, which made Dr. Simpson think that they might have been portable shrines standing on the beam above the high altar. Relics, too, were there. Some of Our Lady's hair, a tooth of St. Vincent, a staff and comb of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and many others, for the dean Ralph de Diceto had been a great collector of such.

For the inventory of 1295 recourse must be had to Dugdale, who makes it cover many pages in his history.

Just over a hundred years later another inventory gives the usual long list, but on this occasion seems to deal rather more in detail with the vestments, which appear to have been uncommonly rich. As many as one hundred and seventy-nine copes, fifty-one chasubles, and ninety-two tunicles are recorded, some given by royalty and others by former bishops such as Simon of Sudbury and William Courtenay. Queen Isabella, the second wife of the unfortunate Richard II, seems to have been a considerable benefactress, for she gave three albs and three amices powdered with angels and the arms of England, and, like her predecessor, Anne of Bohemia, also presented the canons with copes. Another magnificent set must have been that of a red colour worked with golden chalices and the Host in white set between two golden wings. But everything paled before the wonderful gift of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who presented a large number of vestments in cloth of gold ornamented with flowers, crowns, and the ostrich feather. This inventory is also interesting

by virtue of the fact that it tells how the vestments were kept, namely, in wardrobes wherein were twenty-four " perticae " or rods, each able to carry from three to six copes. Of other objects there was a silver gilt censer given by Ralph de Diceto and the ill-fated Simon of Sudbury's mitre, against all of which we have to set the fact that one of their three golden chalices is mentioned as being in pawn with the bishop's chest ! i.e., a chest containing money lent to those in want who deposited a pledge in return.

Appended to this last inventory of 1402 is another, quite short and dated 1455, dealing mainly with the altars of the church, the shrine of St. Erkenwald, and the Lady Chapel, including a full equipment for the boy bishop. Here again is one outstanding item connected with John of Gaunt, namely the crucifix belonging to his chantry chapel. This beautiful piece of work was the gift of his son, the Cardinal and Bishop of Winchester, and is thought worthy of a very careful description. In addition to the actual crucifix itself there were the figures for a rood and also the four Evangelists, one at the end of each arm of the cross. The whole stood on a magnificent base in the shape of a tower with pinnacles and the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul. A number of music books are also mentioned, including one "de organico cantu," another "de plano cantu," and a third "quaternus pro organis." Dr Simpson explains the " cantus organicus " as a melody with a note above at an interval of a fifth and another below at an interval of a fourth, all sung simultaneously.



S.P.C.K.

CHANCEL SCREEN : NORTH SIDE

S.P.C.K.

Of a melancholy interest is an inventory of 1552, for, by comparison with the previous ones already referred to, it is easy to see how much had gone into the greedy maw of Henry VIII and his courtiers. This list was made because in the following year there " sette in Powlles the Comyssioners with the lorde cheffe justes with the lorde Mayer," who took away all the remaining plate and other valuables " wyche drewe un to a gret gooddes for the behoffe of the kynges grace." In answer to the appeal of the Dean and Chapter a bare minimum of utensils was afterwards restored to them. It may, however, be noted that the behaviour of the canons was not altogether above reproach, if we may judge from the will of one of the prebendaries about this time, in which he asked that the " two chalices which I have, shall be restored, the one to the vestry of Pawles, the other to Mr. Deanes chapel on the south syde of Pawles " ! Unless possibly he had taken the said chalices in order to save them from the clutches of the Commissioners. We have it also, on the authority of Dean Milman, Ponz, and others, that a set of Eucharistic vestments and several altar frontals adorned with scenes from the life of our Lord, one of them perhaps showing the Tower of London, were bought by two merchants, Andrea and Pedro de Medina, and taken to Valencia in Spain. The " delante " (? orphrey) of a cope adorned with Adam and Eve is also to be found in the Cathedral at Zaragoza, but for a few further details the reader is referred to Ford's " Handbook for Spain." In the Cathedral, likewise, of St. Ana at Las Palmas (Grand Canary), some of the vest-

ments and plate, together with the lectern, are said to have come from St. Paul's, as also a mighty fourteen-branched candelabrum in bronze.

During the Commonwealth similar spoliation went on, for Dr. Simpson quotes the State Papers of 1654 as showing that, information having been given to the Committee for the Advance of Money that plate and valuables lately belonging to the Dean and Chapter to the value of £2,000 were hidden away down in Hertfordshire, an order was sent that the same should be seized. But the tale of misfortune is not yet complete, for with the new Cathedral came new silver gilt plate, described in Malcolm's "Londinium Redivivum," of the rather ponderous character typical of the period and of which four items were given in 1699 by the Rev. C. Smith, Prebendary and Archdeacon of Colchester. This, in 1810, almost certainly by collusion with some official, was stolen, and the Cathedral suddenly found itself bereft of 1,760 oz. of plate valued at rather more than a pound an ounce. This mishap drove the Dean and Chapter to avoid future trouble and expense by providing something less seductive in the shape of a rather inelegant set of copper gilt vessels which will no doubt survive many more beautiful works of art.

Since that date the losses have been more or less made good, and the following is a complete list of what is now in the possession of the Dean and Chapter. This, however, does not include the plate belonging to the Order of St. Michael and St. George which is in safe custody in the Cathedral. Descriptions of a few of the vessels are taken in part from

Mr. Freshfield's fine book on the church plate in the City.

(1) Chalices, two, copper gilt, shape globular like a large wineglass with bowl springing from faintly engraved foliage which is repeated on knop and rim of foot. Height 12 in., diam. bowl $4\frac{1}{4}$ in., foot $5\frac{1}{4}$ in.

(2) Patens, two, copper gilt, on short foot, diam. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.

(3) Dishes, two, copper gilt, diam. 10 in.

(4) Spoon, copper gilt, with split top, engraved with arms of Dean and Chapter inside the bowl, and outside with letters in monogram which Mr. Freshfield thinks are W. H. H. (they are not easy to decipher and to the writer appear to be H. C. or C. H. W.), size about that of a dessert-spoon. Presented by Archdeacon Hale.

(5) Flagon, copper gilt, usual type, sacred monogram engraved in front, slight decoration on spreading base. Height $11\frac{1}{4}$ in., diam. at top $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. There are neither marks nor inscriptions on these copper gilt vessels.

(6) Chalices, four, 18 ct. gold, 1896–7, embossed decoration of winged heads, swags of fruit and flowers and a cross rayonné. Height $11\frac{1}{2}$ in., diam. bowl $3\frac{5}{8}$ in., base 6 in. (the latter is 2 in. deep and altogether most disproportionate). Maker [W. G. / J. L.] Weight varying between 37 oz. 9 dwt. and 37 oz. 14 dwt.

(7) Patens, four, matching (6). Slightly concave, plain above, with sacred monogram within a crown of thorns below. Diam. 6 in. Marks as (6). Weight from 6 oz. to 6 oz. 14 dwt.

(8) Flagons, two, matching (6) with similar decoration and marks. Height 13⅞ in. with top. Weight 36 oz. 4 dwt.

(9) Chalice, silver gilt, fluted and ornamented with vine leaves and grapes. Height 11⅞ in., diam. bowl 4 in., foot 6 in., weight 33 oz. 10 dwt. Mark ? $\frac{\text{J. C.}}{\text{C.}}$ apparently late eighteenth century French and a very pleasing piece.

(10) Paten, one, to match (9), plain above, beneath is a very finely chased medallion of the Last Supper with a charming ivy leaf border. Weight 8 oz. 10 dwt. (9) and (10) were the gift of Mr. Augustus Eck, of Hatch End, Middlesex, in 1901.

(11) Paten, curiously like (10) but a little smaller, beneath is a fine medallion with good rim, showing the Feast of Pentecost with the Blessed Virgin among the Apostles. Weight 7 oz. 8 dwt. Marks on (9), (10), and (11) are practically illegible.

(12) Chalices, four, silver gilt; (*a*) two 1870–1, late fifteenth century style with spreading foot. Given by Dr. Sparrow Simpson, sub-dean. Height 10¾ in., diam. bowl 5¾ in., foot 5½ in. Weights 38 oz. 16 dwt. and 39 oz. 10 dwt. Makers, Lias & Co. (*b*) two 1871–2 similar to (*a*) presented, one in memory of Archdeacon Hale, the other of Canon Henry Melville, by their respective widows as per description beneath the foot. Decorated with vine design on body between small bosses bearing emblems of the Passion. Height 8¼ in., diam. bowl 4½ in., foot 5½ in. Makers, Lias & Co. Weights 21 oz. 16 dwt. and 22 oz. 10 dwt.

(13) Patens, four, silver gilt, without feet (*a*) two 1870–1 to match (12) (*a*), diam. 8¼ in. Weights

11 oz. 6 dwt. and 10 oz. 10 dwt. (*b*) Two to match (12) (*b*), diam. 7 in. Weights 8 oz. 6 dwt. and 7 oz. 12 dwt. One bears the arms of Archdeacon Hale.

(14) Chalice, silver parcel gilt, 1874–5, with a spreading foot, large perforated knop, and a small bowl (this last of 15 ct. gold), adorned with fine oval brilliant, two large emeralds, two rose diamonds, twelve smaller diamonds, one sapphire, three rubies, eighteen smaller brilliants, three carbuncles, two fine carved opals, and three turquoises; on one of the six lobes of the foot is a small gilt crucifix. Underneath inside the foot are inscribed the names of ten members of the Barnes family ranging between the years 1825 and 1904. This was the gift in 1907 of Mr. John Shelley, who had married into this family, which includes the two well-known actresses, Mrs. Arthur Bourchier and Miss Nina Boucicault. Weight 15 oz. 18 gr. Maker, I. F. (J. Foligno). Compare a very similar chalice at Christ Church, Oxford.

(15) Chalice, silver gilt, Edinburgh, 1791–2. Not a very good shape and plain except for a little simple engraved band round the edge of the bowl and foot. Beneath is the inscription. "In memory of King Edward VII, 1910." Height 8½ in., diam. bowl 4½ in., foot 3⅞ in. Maker, William Robertson.

(16) Ciborium, two (*a*) silver gilt, London, 1908–9, copy of a Spanish design with gadrooned lids and bodies by Lambert, of Coventry Street. (*b*) Silver, 1889, similar to (*a*). Both the gift of the wife of Admiral Sir H. B. Jackson, G.C.B.

(17) Ciborium, silver gilt, London, 1908, in casket

form with front side opening outwards on a hinge. Given by Mr. W. B. Simpson in this year in memory of his diamond wedding. Maker, Lambert.

(18) Paten, silver, small, London, 1908, with centre gilt. Maker, Lambert. Presented by Lady Jackson for daily use with the Barnes chalice.

(19) Flagon, silver gilt, London, 1871–2, pear-shaped with cupola stopper, surmounted by a cross and without handle or spout. Elaborate floral design. Presented by the Rev. W. J. Hall, minor canon and rector of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, in memory of his father, sometime vicar of Tottenham and senior cardinal. Height 17 in. Weight 45 oz. 2 dwt. Maker, Lias & Co.

(20) Dish, silver gilt, London, 1871–2. In centre, repoussé representation of St. Paul preaching at Athens, rim decorated with scrolls and shields showing scenes from St. Paul's life, and the arms of Henry Butterworth, Esq., F.S.A., in whose memory it was presented by his son. Diam. 27 in. Maker, Lias & Co.

(21) Dish, silver, small, London, 1909–10. Given by Mrs. Trumper. Maker, Lambert.

(22) Covers (for chalice), six, five silver gilt; (*a*) three, London, 1890–1, maker of one T. P. (? Peard), two weighing 24 oz. 14 qr. each and $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. square to go with (12) (*a*). (*b*) One, 1888, given by Mrs. Church in memory of her son. (*c*) 1909–10. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. square. Maker P. (?) over D. (*d*) Silver, 1908.

(23) Cruets (*a*) two, 1871–2, glass with silver gilt stoppers standing on oval silver gilt tray (weight 17 oz. 16 dwt.), given by the choir of St. Lawrence

and St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, in 1872, in return for permission to use the Cathedral while their own church was being restored. Maker, Lias & Co. (*b*) Two, 1908, given by Prebendary Russell Wakefield. (*c*) One, silver mounted.

(24) Shell for baptisms, silver gilt, given by Rev. V. S. S. Coles. Weight 2 oz. 17 dwt. Maker, T. P.

(25) Candlesticks, a pair, (?) Birmingham, 1874, silver gilt, given in this year by Mr. G. A. Cavendish Bentinck. Height about 33 in. Maker, C. J. Hancock.

(26) Vergers' Rods, four, silver. (*a*) Dean's verger, London, 1782. About 46 in. long and rather stouter than the others, with elaborate knob at base and at the top a disc with the Cathedral in relief on one side and an inscription " Virga Decani Ecclesiae Cathedralis Sancti Pauli Lond. John Lingard 1 June 1798." On the other side are the arms of the Dean and Chapter with a similar inscription, but the name of " E. M. Cummings, Mar (?) 25, 1815." Round the base of the staff is engraved " R. R. Green vergifer Decani 5 July 1871," round the upper part of the knop, " J. Brown 1899–1912," and round the bottom part, " W. Skinner 1912," who is the present courteous holder of the office. Maker, B. D. (*b*) Three plain rods 34 in. long tapering from a circular knob at the base to an acorn at the top. One of the acorns has been lost and replaced by what tradition says is the knob of a plated coffee-pot, and here, as often, tradition looks to speak true ! One rod bears date letter for 1781 with maker H. B. (? Hester Bateman), another has a King George head and

what might be a monogram of J. F. All other marks are illegible. Dr. Freshfield in his book implies that a particular staff belongs to a particular verger, but Mr. Skinner tells the writer that this, in fact, is not so, for a new verger takes the rod which happens to be vacant and carries it all through his time irrespective of whom he is serving.

SECOND PROCESSIONAL CROSS

(27) Crosses. (*a*) On the high altar, with silver figures, many large stones inset and enamels. Presented by the Duke of Newcastle in 1890 from the designs of Messrs. Bodley & Garner. Height 6 ft. Makers, Barkentin & Krall. (*b*) First processional, designed by Sir R. Blomfield, R.A., gilt, in front is an enamelled figure on the cross, at the back are similar medallions including the Agnus Dei and the four Evangelists, with vine foliage and fruit intertwined with the arms of the cross. The gift of Mrs. Barry. (*c*) Second processional. Gilt, with gadrooned knop and base, both back and front at the ends of the arms are enamels showing the four Evangelists, the Blessed Virgin, St. Veronica, a Pelican in her Piety, etc. Over the arms of the cross, which are of pale green enamel, is a coarse filigree or

S.P.C.K.

ST. MATTHEW

S.P.C.K.

ST. MARK

S.P.C.K

S.P.C.K.

open work. It has suffered somewhat from regilding and from the removal of the old crimson velvet from the sides of the arms. It is believed that Canon Kelly brought this cross from Venice. It is the one in regular use.

St. Dunstan's Chapel

On the altar is a cross in memory of Miss Baggally, containing blood-stones given to Dr. Liddon by the then Marquis of Salisbury.

Vestments and Hangings

The Cathedral possesses a number of copes, including those for the minor canons and five chapter copes in white and gold, first used for the 1897 Jubilee of Queen Victoria. There are no Eucharistic vestments.

Among altar frontals are two in blue given by the late Dr. Wickham Legg and two belonging to St. Dunstan's Chapel, admirably worked by Lady Jane Lindsay in red and white respectively. Another, bearing the Cup of Suffering in gold set with cornelians and flanked by palms of victory, is of special interest as having been worked by wounded soldiers in various hospitals in memory of their comrades fallen in the Great War. The last example (illus. opp. p. 193) is a fine specimen of the work done about forty years ago by the East Grinstead Sisters at Queen's Square, and portrays the stoning of St. Stephen, St. Michael weighing souls, our Lord in Glory with St. Paul kneeling to receive a crown, the angel Gabriel, St. Paul before Agrippa, and an archangel at either end. It is from the design of

Mr. John Medland, A.R.I.B.A., and was the gift of Miss Noyes, of Cheltenham. Of stoles, corporals. and burses. particular attention may be drawn to a red corporal and burse most delightfully worked by Lady Lindsay, showing a Pelican in her Piety of a delicate grey shading, the colouring for which the artist is said to have copied from her pet dog. The only mitre in the Cathedral is of an unusual kind, being made of large plates of ivory joined by gold braid. Its complete simplicity is distinctly pleasing, but unfortunately it is not over comfortable to wear. It was given anonymously as a thank-offering in 1897 to Bishop Creighton, and in 1901 presented by his widow to the diocese.

LIBRARY

Catalogues and mere lists of names which do but whet and tantalize the appetite, such is practically all that remains to-day of what must in old days have been a very fine library. The vicissitudes through which the old Cathedral passed, whether of fire or civil war, were too much for small and easily plundered objects such as books, and the consequence is that the number of items which can be definitely said to be relics from the official list of the old library can, alas, be counted practically on the fingers of one hand. Dr. Simpson tells us that the MS. Treatises of Avicenna, which bears an inscription to the effect that it belonged to the Cathedral, is no doubt an original possession. In the Lambeth Library, too, there is a MS. Chronicle (Lamb MS. 8) of Ralph de Diceto, the learned dean and historian, and in the College Library of Aberdeen may be seen

a MS. account of the Miracles of the Blessed Virgin. These three are the only authentic survivals to which may be added, with a fair amount of probability, two thirteenth and fourteenth century Psalters and a Processional, all now in the Cathedral. It is, of course, to be understood that there are a few other volumes of a different kind still remaining, as also many ancient charters and deeds in respect of the property belonging to the Dean and Chapter. For example, the folio book containing the "Statuta Majora," the statutes of the Cathedral, with the inventory of 1245 inserted at the beginning, another volume with the "Statuta Minora" and another known as "pilosum," from the fact that it has a hairy cover—these are a few of the more valuable remnants. Charters are in considerable quantity, although it is a matter for regret that all the Anglo-Saxon specimens, except that of Cnut, are asserted to be forgeries. The rest, together with manor rolls, rentals, and similar documents, deal with the prebendal and capitular properties mostly in the environs of London. Almost all through the time of its existence, St. Paul's has been asking for money for repairs. and evidence of this is found in the seventy-six Indulgences of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which have been preserved. They were issued in various dioceses, mostly for forty days, and may be found set out in full in Dr. Simpson's "Documents relating to the history of St. Paul's." Unfortunately, of course, the Great Fire was responsible for heavy losses in the archive department, but, as if to make up for this, the subsequent records are very complete. The

account books for repairs start from 1561, while those connected with the cost of the present building are almost complete in twenty-seven volumes. These last are of the greatest interest, for, by their help, it is possible to trace out the date and cost of practically everything in the Cathedral together with the name of the man who made it. Herein, too, may be found the signatures not only of Wren but of all those famous chief artificers who helped him in their various ways.

Of printed books there are upwards of 12,000 volumes and 11,000 pamphlets. A few have " Pro Conventu de Kilkenia " written across the title and the majority, as Mr. Botfield pompously tells us, are " attired in the vituline integument of their founder's time " ! The book plate of Sir Christopher Hatton is also to be seen. In 1708 the collection was begun by the purchase of the books of Robert Gery, Vicar of Islington, with money given by Archbishop Tennison and Sir Nicholas Stewart. Two good acquisitions came about the same time from Dr. Stanley, Dean of St. Asaph and Canon of St. Paul's, in the shape of Brian Walton's Polyglot Bible with Edmund Castell's Lexicon. Two years later a collection of Bibles and Liturgical Treatises was bought, to be followed in 1715 by Bishop Compton's handsome bequest of some 1900 volumes which really formed the backbone of the Library. His portrait rightly hangs over the sometime fireplace. Among many other books mentioned by Dr. Simpson in his printed catalogue, may be noted an imperfect copy of Tyndale's New Testament, of which the only other known copy is at the Baptist College, Bristol. This

was brought out with the utmost difficulty, for both it and its author were proscribed on account of its being the first complete New Testament in English. However, it did in the end see the light of day, and not altogether unjustifiably has been described as the "Grand foundation stone of England's greatness." Another volume, a "Concordance of the New Testament" of 1535, is noteworthy as bearing the rare device of one Thomas Gybson, scholar and printer (1535–9). The accompanying illustration is from a print kindly permitted by Mr. Donald Macbeth, of Artists Illustrators, Ltd., and further notes upon it will be found in Mr. R. B. McKerrow's elaborate work on "Printers' Devices." Gradually the number of books on the shelves has increased until in recent times, under the care of the late Dr. W. Sparrow Simpson, the Library made a big move forward. To his care and arrangement, to his enthusiasm and knowledge as librarian, the Cathedral owes a great debt of gratitude. Not only did he rearrange and catalogue the whole collection, but largely added to its value by getting together a very fine series of Paul's Cross Sermons, Plays by the children of St. Paul's, and other scarce items. Nor must we forget the materials he amassed relating to

GYBSON'S DEVICE

the history of St. Paul's which must always form the foundation for any book on the Cathedral, as the present writer gratefully acknowledges.

In the cases are several interesting things. There is, for example, the subscription list opened for the rebuilding of the Cathedral with promises of money from Charles II and James II, the former committing himself to the tune of £1,000 a year, but beyond the effort of signing his name the promise would seem to have cost him little, for there is no record that he ever paid! Signatures there are also of various bishops, including that of Cranmer in a book which once belonged to him. Here also is a copy of the vow made by King Charles I when at Oxford during the Civil War. This is here reproduced and speaks for itself, with its curious story of burial in the ground for thirteen years. Casts of seals, mainly of bishops, are many and various. The earliest seal of the Dean and Chapter dates from the twelfth century and shows St. Paul with a book, standing and teaching the canons around him. The next in date is marked c.1287, a fine specimen with the Cathedral on the obverse and St. Paul with sword and book seated beneath a crocketed canopy on the reverse. On this side also is the legend, *Mucro furor Sauli Liber est Conversio Pauli* (The sword is the raging of Saul, the book is the Conversion of Paul), which we also meet in connexion with the organ (p. 82). Lastly comes that of c.1335, in silver, which since that date has been the official seal and is still so used to-day (illus. opp. p. 176). The legend is: *Sigillum commune decani et capituli ecclie sci Pauli London.* There is also a less common specimen in the shape

of a seal *de negociis Sancti Pauli*, which bears a head and shoulders of St. Paul with a book on the dexter and a sword on the sinister side. Close by, in the same case, is a facsimile of the tonsure plate of

I A.B. doe here promise and solemly vow in the presence, and for the Service of Almighty God, that if it shall please His Divine Piety of His infinite goodnesse to restore mee to my just Kingly rights, and to reestablish mee in my Throne, I will wholy give backe to this Church all those Impropriations wch are now held by the Crowne: and what Landes soeuer I now doe, or should enjoy, wch have been taken away either from any Episcopall See, or any Cathedrall or Collegiate Church, from any Abby or other religious house, I likewise promise for hereafter to hold them from the Church, under such reasonable fines and rents as shall be set downe by some Conscientious persons, whom I promise to choose with all uprightnesse of heart to direct mee in this particular. And I most humbly beseech God to accept of this my Vow, and to blesse mee in the designes I have now in hand through Jesus Christ Our Lord:

Charles R. Amen. I.

Oxford 13. Ap. 1646.

VOW OF CHARLES I

the canons, which is now in the British Museum. It is a round copper plate about 3 in. in diameter, slightly convex, with a lion rampant *à queue fourchée* engraved on the concave side. It dates in the first

place, it is thought, from the thirteenth century, but has apparently been cut down at some time, unless it was just a piece of metal which had already been used for some other purpose and then cut and adapted for this new task. This plate was the official measure for the tonsure of the clergy of St. Paul's, which at all times and everywhere was

TONSURE PLATE

especially insisted upon and is carefully arranged for in the Statutes.

Another showcase contains some equally interesting objects. One, notably, is the "Book of Penalties" agreed to be imposed for failure in performance of certain Indentures between Henry VIII and the Abbot of Westminster, to which the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's and five other parties were joined. These Indentures were for the performance of obits and services for the king's soul and other purposes. It is very finely illuminated, the opening

Photochrom

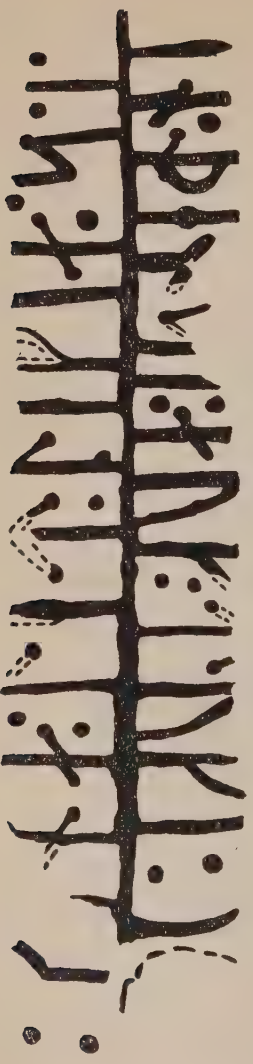
REREDOS AND QUIRE STALLS

S.P.C.K.

BISHOP'S THRONE AND SOUTH CHANCEL GATES

page being ornamented with the royal arms at the top and the Tudor portcullis alternately with large sprays of roses in a border round the text, the initial letter of which shows the king seated and handing what is meant to be this book to kneeling monks. The binding is of red velvet with silver gilt bosses and clasps of enamel and silver. Here also is the flowered waistcoat in pale blue silk which belonged to Sir Christopher Wren, together with two modern illuminated books, one being the Memorial Book of Church Bell-Ringers who fell in the Great War, and the other a Roll of Honour of the Queen Alexandra Imperial Military Nursing Service. There are also two books with the old chains still attached to them. Elsewhere in the library may be seen an ancient quern, dug up near by, whose presence is not so surprising when it is remembered that the old corn-

SCANDINAVIAN STONE



RUNES ON THE SCANDINAVIAN STONE

market was at the western end of Cheapside, and where formerly there stood the church of St. Michael le Querne. Another discovery, in this case at the south-eastern end of the churchyard in 1852, was a Scandinavian or Runic stone, 18 ft. below the present level, now in the Guildhall Museum. Here we have a cast showing a stag-like animal and runes on the edge said to read, *Kona let lekia stin thensi auk Tuk,* which being interpreted means, "Kona and Tuki caused lay this stone." Tuki is usually identified with Tokig, a minister of King Cnut, and most authorities seem to agree in dating this stone from about the eleventh century.

One other point may be mentioned, namely the possibility of there having been a *scriptorium,* or school of writing and illumination here, as was not unusual at other

Cathedrals. Both Dr. Simpson and Bishop Stubbs appear to have been fairly certain that there was such a thing, but there seems little definite evidence. According to the Vict. County Hist. in the time of Ralph de Diceto, there is known to have been a binder, and in 1283 a writer of books, which occupations were combined shortly after the last date and thus remained until the time of Colet. A mention of twelve scribes who took an oath to be faithful to the Dean and Chapter, and to write without fraud, only refers to men officially allowed to sit in the Cathedral for writing letters and other documents on behalf of the many illiterate members of the public. Beyond a fine penmanship which is noticeable in the works of Ralph de Diceto, there seems to have been no distinguishing feature, and in later days no direct reference to any such work.

In respect of the pre-Reformation building in which the Library was housed, the reader is referred to Chapter II. Its present home over the south-west chapel was specially built by Wren for the purpose and has some noteworthy features. First there are the richly-carved stone pilasters between which are placed the book-cases, and secondly the fine woodwork, all of which is in oak. For long it was said to be the product of the skill of Gibbon, but the following entry in the accounts now shows that the credit is due elsewhere. "March, 1708/9. To Jonathan Maine. For carving 32 Trusses or Cantalivers under ye gallary 3′ 8″ long and 3′ 8″ deep and 7″ thick with Leatherworke cut through and a leaf in ye front and a drop hanging down with fruit and flowers, etc., at £6 10s. each." The floor,

consisting of about 2,500 pieces of oak, fitted in without a nail or peg, is a nice piece of parquetry, the work of Charles Hopson, the joiner, who also

LIBRARY: GALLERY BRACKETS

made the organ case. Wren probably intended the corresponding room to this on the north side to be used as a library also, and the illustration opp. p. 176 shows a similar type of decoration in stone.

Although not in the Library, a folio volume kept in the Dean's Vestry may be mentioned here. It contains a list of all the Sunday morning preachers since January, 1726, and is still in use to-day. Every preacher signs his name and gives his degree, college, and university, and among the first, in 1727, is one Calvin Galpine, B.A., of Harvard College, New

England. In 1757 Good Friday is mentioned for the first time with a preacher, and in 1773 there was a sermon on Charles I's day (January 30th), which continued off and on until 1797, when it became a regular institution. It is to be noted that these Sunday morning sermons are the lineal descendants of those formerly delivered at Paul's Cross, and for their pains the preachers each receive a small fee with a pint of sherry. The preachers are appointed by the bishop or the Dean and Chapter, and the necessary funds come from two estates administered by the Corporation, who are therefore responsible for the printing of the official list.

BELLS

Like so much else connected with old St. Paul's our knowledge of its bells is rather meagre, and it is obvious that none of them will have come down to us. Dugdale says that the bell tower was first mentioned in the time of Henry I, and Dr. Simpson in his "Documents" says that in 1331 Peter Corbanensis, the bishop suffragan, was called in to consecrate a new bell in honour of the Blessed Virgin, while in the same century the bell-ringers are said to receive 4d. at the obit of Minor Canon Nicholas Husbonde. According to Dugdale there were four large bells, called Jesus bells, "in regard they specially belonged to Jesus Chapel situate at the east end of the undercroft of Paul's," hung in a detached campanile or belfry standing somewhere to the east "in the direction of Chepe." The citizens seem to have had an interest in this bell-tower, for, in 1320–1, in a dispute between them and the Dean and Chapter

about an enclosure by the latter, it was stated that the former had the right to use one of the bells as a kind of tocsin to summon them to meetings of their Folkmoot Court which they used to hold round about that spot. The story goes that in the days of spoliation one Sir Miles Partridge cast lots with Henry VIII as to whether or not he should have the tower and bells for £100. He won the toss, pulled down the belfry, and sold the metal. In respect of this tower, Mr. Mackenzie Walcott, in "Notes and Queries," Series IV, Vol. V, p. 159, quotes a Land Revenue Paper in the Public Record Office, which says that the belfry was a building 22 yards square, carrying *eight* bells "conteynyng XVII mls," and that the sum total of site, material, and bells was estimated to be £382 in value. A distinction should, strictly speaking, be drawn between the campanile and the belfry, for Mackenzie Walcott refers, in the Transactions of the St. Paul's Eccles. Soc., Vol. I, to the *custos operis* (the guardian of the building) being ordered to reside in the belfry as compared with the *campanile juxta chorum* (the bell tower near the choir). The belfry then, as such, must have been the tower of the Cathedral supporting the great spire, as is proved also by the two following mentions. Between the demolition by Sir Miles Partridge and the serious fire of 1561 it would seem that some bells were obtained and hung in the belfry, for two descriptions of the latter disaster refer to the bells —Mr. J. P. Collier's "Registers of the Stationers' Company" stating that they (the bells) fell down, and the "Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles" Continuation saying, "Ye stepull of Powlles was fyeryd

by lyghtnynge" and so "ye sphere" (i.e. spire) "byrnt downeward lyke a candil consumyng to ye stone werke and ye bells."

For the new Cathedral bells were also made mainly at first in connexion with the clock, about which a little will be said at the end of this section. Phelps and Wightman were the two founders employed, the former making the two quarter bells, the latter the five minutes bell, and "Great Tom," or the Great Bell of St. Paul's, by the last of which there hangs a tale. For this we have to go back to the year 1698, when King William III gave to the poor of St. Margaret's parish the old clock tower of Westminster, which stood not so very far from the site of the present Big Ben Tower. Therein hung a large bell called "Great Tom" or "Edward of Westminster," which was afterwards sold to the Commissioners for the rebuilding of St. Paul's. In the burial registry of St. Margaret's, Westminster, is a queer entry of the death of one Lettice Holdsworth, who is noted as having ridden in this bell when it was brought from Westminster to St. Paul's. On its arrival here it appears to have been hung in the north-west tower, according to Dugdale, and to have been cracked almost at once, so that it had to be recast by Wightman with the addition of some more metal. Among the MSS. in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries (London Plans, Vol. IV, p. 63) is a careful measured and coloured drawing to scale of this bell dated December 15, 1708, and signed by a Mr. T. Talman, who presumably was a relation of William Talman, Comptroller of the works at Hampton Court, and a spiteful critic and opponent

of Wren. This drawing shows the diameter and height to have been exactly 7 ft. and the weight is given as 4 tons 400 lb. The inscription is set out as follows (upper band) : *Tercivs Edwardvs aptavit me Rex Edwardqve vocavit Edwardi decore sancti liqventur vt hore*, gap filled with cresting of fleurs-de-lys, Maltese crosses, and strawberry leaves ; (middle band), " MADE BY PHILIP WIGHTMAN," remainder of band filled with foliage, fleurs-de-lys, roses, thistles, and shamrocks ; (lower band), " BOVGHT FROM RVINES OF WESTMINSTER PALACE AND NEW CAST WITH ADDITION OF METALL A° XII° WILL III." From the Fabric Rolls (W. B. 24 and 25) we learn that preparations were being made in 1699, ropes, etc., being bought and, curiously enough, Christopher Hodson, the well-known founder from St. Mary Cray, in Kent, being employed to design a clapper. Then in July–September, 1700, comes the payment of Wightman for " casting ye old broken Great Bell," the actual weight being given as 84 cwt. 0 qr. 4 li., and " ffor the old and new inscriptions round the Bell." This work was, however, badly done and formed one of the scandalous charges brought by the anonymous writer of " Frauds and Abuses " against Wren who, in his reply, pointed out that Great Tom had got broken " by their exposing it to be made a show of and to be struck upon by those who gave money for seeing it." It was generally agreed that Wightman's bell was wrong, although the Chapter had foolishly paid him before testing it, and then Wightman had died " without making any Satisfaction for the Badness of the Bell." So unsatisfactory was it that a new bell was necessary,

MINOR CANONS' VESTRY

LORD MAYOR'S VESTRY

S.P.C.K.

QUIRE AISLE GRILLE

S.P.C.K.

CHANCEL RAILS: PANEL

and in the Cathedral "Contract Book" we find, in 1709, Richard Phelps, the founder, and Langley Bradley, the clockmaker, agreeing to supply "a large new Bell for the great clock to strike ye hours upon." They undertake that it shall be of the "best and finest new Bell metal (both Copper and Tin) to weigh about Five Tuns and four hundred weight." The contractors were to "accept the Great Bell on which the said Clock now strikes the Hours in part of payment." The following March the bell was brought from Whitechapel. What may have been the matter with this one does not transpire, and all that is known is an entry in Fabric Roll, W. B. 44, towards the end of 1716, stating that Phelps received £64 10s. for casting a large bell, 92 cwt. 0 qr. 14 lb. of which just over 7 cwt was new metal. This bell, the fourth in its position and which pretty clearly contains no metal from the original of Westminster, is with us to-day and now hangs in the south-west tower above the two quarter bells—and merely hangs, for neither it nor they can be raised or rung, but are struck by hammers. The two quarter bells were supplied by Langley Bradley but cast by Phelps, "one a Diapason or Eighth and the other a Diapente or Fifth" to the original bell of Wightman, so that, as Dr. Simpson points out, the tradition must now go by the board which suggests that one of them came from a church at St. Andrew's, in Scotland.

About 1878 it was felt that the time had arrived when the Cathedral, as the most important church in the diocese, might be equipped with a proper peal of twelve bells. The want was made known, the

offer of certain City Companies and the Corporation of London to supply what was required at a cost of about £4,000 was gratefully accepted, and on All Saints' Day in that year the first peal was rung. Finally, in 1881, at the instigation of Dean Gregory, although not without a certain amount of opposition, it was decided to ask for subscriptions towards a really big bell, and the result of this appeal was the arrival of "Great Paul," cast, like the twelve above, by Messrs. Taylor, of Loughborough, and intended to hang with them in the north-west tower. It was found, however, to be too difficult and costly a matter to put the largest bell in England in an already crowded space, and so "Great Paul" was assigned to the opposite tower and hauled up through the ceiling above the geometrical staircase. In fact the opening in this domed ceiling actually determined the size of the bell, which from first to last cost just under £4,000.

The following is a list of the bells now hanging in the Cathedral, A, B, and C having been expressly examined and measured by the writer, with the kind help of Mr. Sedgwick, the bell-ringer.

A. Five Minutes or Service Bell. Height over all, 4 ft.; diam., 4 ft. (about); weight, 22 cwt. (about). Inscription: "MADE BY PHILIP WIGHTMAN, 1700," remainder of band filled in with a floreated design.

B. Quarter Bells. Two. (*a*) Diam., 3 ft.; weight, 12 cwt. 2 qr. 9 lb. (*b*) Diam., 4½ ft.; weight, 24 cwt. 2 qr. 26 lb. On both is the inscription: "RICHARD PHELPS MADE ME. 1707."

C. Great Bell of St. Paul's. (Hour Bell.) Height, 6 ft. over all; diam., 6 ft. 9 in.; weight, 92 cwt. 0 qr. 14 lb. Inscription: "RICHARD PHELPS MADE ME, 1716." Keynote, A flat.

D. "Great Paul." Height, 8 ft. 8 in.; diam., 9 ft. $6\frac{3}{4}$ in.; thickness at bow, $8\frac{3}{4}$ in.; weight, 16 tons 14 cwt. 2 qr. 19 lb. Inscription: "JOHN TAYLOR AND CO., LOVGHBOROVGH, MDCCCLXXXI." Beneath are the arms of the Dean and Chapter and below again is the motto: *Vae mihi si non evangelisavero.* Keynote, E flat. Proportion of tin to copper is as four to thirteen.

E. Peal of twelve.

Treble. Diam., 2 ft. $6\frac{7}{8}$ in.; weight, 8 cwt. 1 qr. 16 lb. Motto: "To God only belong Honour and Glory." Inscription: "Presented by the Drapers' Company, Peter Rolt, Esq., Master." Keynote, F.

(2) Weight, 9 cwt. 1 qr. 15 lb. Motto and inscription as treble. Keynote, E flat.

(3) Weight, 10 cwt. 0 qr. 3 lb. Motto: "By faith I obteigne." Inscription: "Presented by the Baroness Burdett-Coutts and the Turners' Company. Edward Caffin, Esq., Master." Arms of the Baroness. Quarterly one and four "arg: a stag's head cabossed, in chief a thistle and leaves displayed, the whole within a bordure embattled az.," two and three "az. 2 bars or on each bar 3 martlets sa." Keynote, D.

(4) Weight, 11 cwt. 3 qr. 21 lb. Motto and inscription as (3). Keynote, C.

(5) Weight, 13 cwt. 2 qr. 14 lb. Motto and inscription as (3). Keynote, B flat.

(6) Weight, 14 cwt. 0 qr. 4 lb. Motto and inscription as (3). Keynote, A.

(7) Weight, 16 cwt. 2 qr. 21 lb. Motto: *Sal sapit omnia.* Inscription: "The gift of the Salters' Company, James Carr Fisher, Esq., Master." Keynote, G.

(8) Weight, 22 cwt. 1 qr. 18 lb. Motto: *Concordia Parvae Res Crescunt.* Inscription: "Presented by the Merchant Taylors' Company, Samuel Marson, Esq., Master." Keynote, F.

(9) Weight, 28 cwt. 0 qr. 7 lb. Motto: "All worship be to God only." Inscription: "The gift of the Fishmongers' Company, Edward Edwards, Esq., Prime Warden." Keynote, E flat.

(10) Weight, 30 cwt. 2 qr. 22 lb. Motto: "My trust is in God alone." Inscription: "Presented by the Clothworkers' Company, James Wylde, Esq., Master." Keynote, D.

(11) Weight, 44 cwt. 2 qr. 0 lb. Motto: "God grant grace." Inscription: "The gift of the Grocers' Company, W. J. Thompson, Esq., Junr., Master." Keynote, C.

Tenor. Diam., 5 ft. 9 in. Weight, 62 cwt. Motto: *Domine Dirige Nos.* Inscription: "This tenor bell was presented by the Cor-

poration of the City of London. The Right Hon. William James Cotton, M.P., Lord Mayor. 14 Sept. 1878." Keynote, B flat.

Each bell bears the arms of the Dean and Chapter and the date 1878.

The service bell is rung for five minutes before each service, the quarter bells and hour bell serve the clock, in addition to which the latter still keeps its old prerogative of tolling on the death of a member of the Royal family, a Bishop of London, a dean, or a lord mayor during his term of office. "Great Paul," which is "rung up" by three men, was formerly used as the five minutes service bell on Sundays and Saints' days, but now, on the ground of expense, it is only so used on the latter occasions. It is, however, rung every day for five minutes at one o'clock, and was first tolled on the death of Dr. Liddon, who, as being a canon, was not entitled to the privilege of the old great bell. In 1884 a small bell was bought from Messrs. Taylor, which received the name of "Little Paul." This was placed outside over the south transept to be rung for the special crypt service at eight o'clock in the evening, but when that service was discontinued a year or so later the bell was handed over to a new church then just built at Walthamstow. The peal of twelve, which is the heaviest in England, is rung by the ancient and famous Society of College Youths.

Of almost as old a mention as the bells is the clock. The Rev. Andrew Freeman, in the "Organ," refers to an agreement with Walter the "orgoner" of Southwark in 1344 whereby he was to make a clock

with the figure of an angel at the top for the Cathedral, taking in part payment any works discarded as useless, from which it is clear that his timepiece was not the first upon the premises. In the 1445 Inventory the "orologium" is mentioned, to say nothing of the fact that Archdeacon Hale tells that the Domesday in 1286 refers to one Bartholomew, the orologiarius. Among the archives here there is another agreement of mid-sixteenth century date between the Dean and Chapter and one Bryce Augustine, of Lime Street, whereby he is to keep in good order "the clocke orlage or dyall sette and beyng in the sorth syde and within the sayde Cathedral church."

For Wren's cathedral a clock was made by Langley Bradley in 1708, which was by no means a success. On being accused of putting in bad work and material he complained that it was continually being damaged because it was open to inspection by the public, by whom it was badly treated. However, as in the case of the old bell so here, a fresh arrangement had to be made and in 1719–20 Richard Street and William Knight at a cost of £500 put up a new instrument in the south-west tower. Finally, in 1893, the present clock was made by Messrs. Smith, of Derby, from the design of Lord Grimthorpe.

The story is often told in connexion with the old clock about John Hatfield, a soldier on duty at Windsor Castle, who was court-martialed for being asleep at his post. He saved himself by averring that at midnight he heard the clock strike thirteen, which on that particular occasion report said it had done. He died in 1770, aged 102, according to the

" Public Advertiser," and it would, of course, depend upon the date of the episode as to whether the great bell was at St. Paul's or still at Westminster. In either case he must have been very wide awake to have heard it so far away as Windsor ! However, whether true or not, the affair is quite dramatic, and a writer to " Notes and Queries " says that in 1859 it was used as the plot for a melodrama called " The Thirteenth Chime."

OFFICIALS

As will be seen in the historical notes the early beginnings of the bishops are very uncertain, and even after the arrival of St. Augustine and the consecration of St. Mellitus there are one or two gaps which are not easily filled. At the same time, as soon as we find the line of bishops clearly marked, we also find them taking a prominent place. Prior to the Conquest the Cathedral staff went by the name of the bishop and thirty canons, and it seems that the former was much more in actual fact the head of the Cathedral than is usually the case. Indeed, Domesday Book shows more canons holding lands of the bishop than of the king, so that they might almost be looked upon as episcopal dependants. The bishop, however, did not share in the estates of the canons as a Chapter because he had property in his own right, such as the castle of Bishop's Stortford and the manors of Stepney and Fulham. Ever since the tradition of London having once been a metropolitical see had been fixed in men's minds the bishop seems thereby to have occupied the position of *primus inter pares* among his fellow prelates.

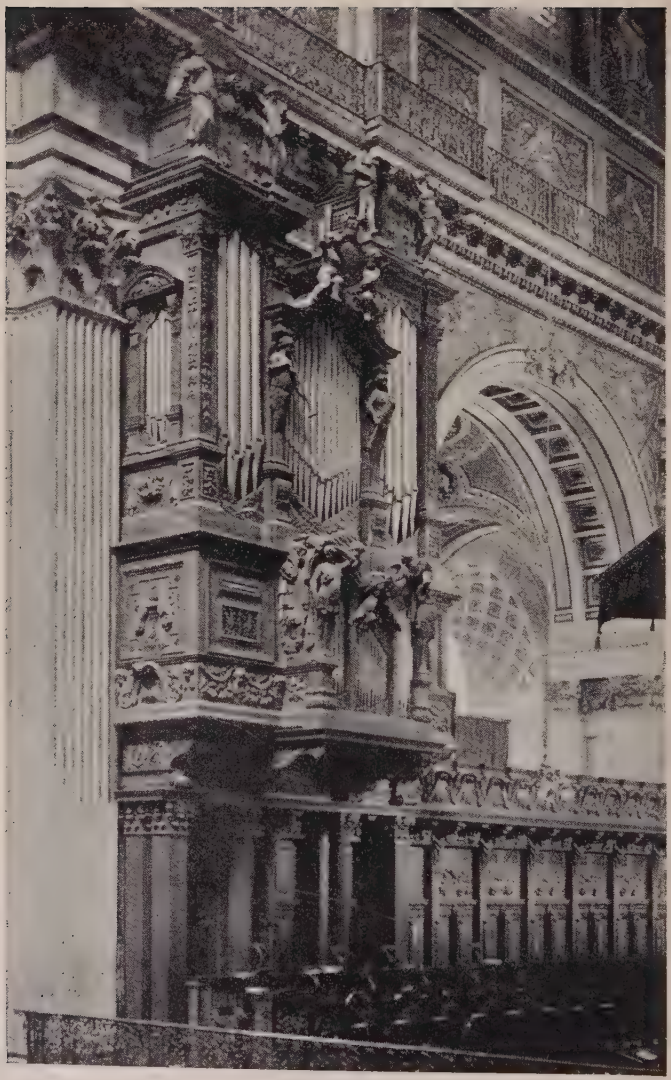
Certainly the head of this diocese always felt that he could hope for no further advancement in the Church unless, as indeed often happened, he was moved to Canterbury or to York.

The office of dean does not come into notice much before the time of the Conquest, and any names before then must be looked upon with a little suspicion, but from that time he gradually assumes his usual and rightful place, with the result that to a certain extent the bishop falls back, or, rather, is diverted into political and secular channels. And yet, perhaps by virtue of his former ascendancy, the bishop exerted a greater influence than in other dioceses, for he was the acknowledged visitor with admitted jurisdiction where the Archbishop of Canterbury's similar claim was evaded and sometimes defied. In the same way the Chapter in the end made good their claim in 1273 to elect their own bishop and, during a vacancy, to share in the profits and charges of the see and exercise episcopal authority—a claim they enforced even so late as 1723. The dean was generally one of the canons, because without this qualification he would, according to a ruling of Bishop Simon, of Sudbury, have been ineligible for sitting and transacting business with the Chapter. It may be noted that it was the invariable practice of every dean to style himself "Londoniensis" and not "of St. Paul's."

The thirty canons or greater Chapter all had prebends or sources of income attached to them by the end of the twelfth century, of which only the names remain to-day, and five Psalms were set apart for each canon to recite daily so that the entire Psalter

S.P.C.K.

QUIRE STALLS: LORD MAYOR'S SEAT



S.P.C.K.

ORGAN CASE

might be gone through every day. On each stall was inscribed the name of the prebend and the first line of his first Psalm (v. post). In addition to their individual properties the canons are found even so early as the end of the tenth century holding certain lands in common, *de victu*, i.e. for their general sustenance, which consisted of a daily ration of two large and two small loaves of bread with thirty gallons of beer per week. On the feasts of their patron saint they also received hot " wastel " cakes made of special white flour. Archdeacon Hale tells us that these " common " lands were let out to a " Firmarius " or farmer, generally one of the residentiary canons, who was bound to supply so much food per week to the Chapter's bakehouse and brewery with the balance of the rent in cash. The earliest record of a manor being let to farm was that of Barnes in 1108, a manor with advowson which had been given to the canons by King Athelstan early in the tenth century. Each canon had a vicar to act as his deputy who, although subject to his own canon, had nevertheless to take an oath to the Dean and Chapter, and by 1260 their place was permanently secured to them even in the case of the death of their canon. Their existence early led to the practice of non-residence on the part of the canons, who found themselves freed to go into the country to manage their estates, and thus slackness and indiscipline tended to prevail. Residence also became unpopular because in his first year a canon was called upon to pay his footing, as it were, by dispensing hospitality to the local clergy, the mayor and aldermen, and the servants attached to the

Cathedral. The cost of this in the fourteenth century at last became such a burden that the Pope was compelled to intervene and set a limit to what should be spent. Meanwhile, as the number of residentiary canons, called "Stagiarii" in contradistinction to the non-residents, thus grew less and less until they ultimately dwindled down to two, the income from the "common" properties, which of course enured to the benefit of the residentiaries only, gradually increased in value per head until at last it dawned upon the outsiders that it was now more profitable to come back into residence! However, this was not so easily done, and a large number were kept out so that, as Dean Milman says, "there grew up a Chapter within a Chapter . . . the non-resident prebendaries still kept up an honorary relation to the Cathedral: each had his stall to which he was duly admitted . . . but as their prebendal estates were severed and became entirely independent of the Cathedral . . . so they lost all claim on the capitular estates." During the last quarter of the nineteenth century all the various properties, mainly in North London, with a few in Essex and Bedfordshire, gradually found their way, as each occupant under the old *regime* died, into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, with the sole exception of Tillingham, in Essex; and so to-day the dean and four residential or parliamentary canons (so-called by virtue of their position under the Cathedral Act, 1842) alone receive a stipend, and the prebendaries or canons are entitled to a stall but otherwise have no revenue attached to their position. Nevertheless, at their installation each

receives a copy of the Cathedral statutes with a penny loaf of bread, signifying their endowment with the responsibilities and sometime temporalities of their prebend. Of the officials little need be said, for their offices are of the usual character. Next to the dean in importance comes the Archdeacon of London, followed by the Precentor, who, with his assistant, the Succentor, is responsible for the music. Not infrequently in old days this important post was given to a non-musician, and the holder in one case, a certain Rev. Almeric Belli, was so seldom present that his witty fellow-canon Sydney Smith dubbed him the "Absenter." Next comes the Chancellor who may be called the secretary to the Cathedral. He is, at least, the nominal keeper of the Chapter Seal and arranges all the non-musical part of the services. In old days he was master of the Cathedral Grammar School and had control of all scholars in the City except those of St. Mary le Bow and St. Martin le Grand. In the sixteenth century he was appointed to give lectures in Divinity, with the parish church of Ealing attached by way of stipend, but he wriggled out of his duty by arguing that physically he could not lecture "continue," i.e. continuously, as ordered, and therefore he did not lecture at all! Later on, a lecture was instituted three times a week during term, for which the stipend was found, as to £20 by the Chancellor and as to £40 from the "addition given by Dr. White," the founder of Sion College, early in the seventeenth century. This "White" Lectureship, as it is now called, on practical or doctrinal theology, was revived in 1925 as an annual appointment

during Lent after a very long interval. There then followed the Treasurer who, with the Sacrist as assistant, is responsible for the financial side of the work, including the safe custody and upkeep of plate, vestments, and other valuables, a responsibility which, in these recent years of anxiety as to the stability and repairs connected with the dome, must have weighed heavily upon the shoulders of Canon Alexander.

Next to the Greater Chapter come the twelve Minor Canons, a most interesting body, whose title only appears among Cathedrals of the Old Foundation at St. Paul's and Chichester. They seem to date back at least from the Norman Conquest and possibly from the original foundation of the Cathedral, but were not definitely founded as the College of St. Peter until 1394–5, when they received a charter of incorporation from the king, which they still possess. The finely illuminated initial letter shows the king, with Arundel, Archbishop of York, and Braybroke, Bishop of London, on either side, handing the charter to the expectant canons; in the border above are the royal arms and those of the prelates, together with the initial letters of the names of the canons at the time interwoven with the remaining letters of each name. Over each is an ostrich feather, a Plantagenet badge. Their statutes of the following year show a high ideal of service and behaviour, and cover everything including their dress, which was a surplice with an almuce or strip of fur and a black cap. The fur in this case was *e calabro*, i.e. of black, as distinct from that of the major canons which was *e grisio*, i.e. of grey, or perhaps

more strictly, pepper and salt colour. Their duties were to represent in turn the major canons at the high altar, to sing in the choir with the lay clerks and boys, and to fill the minor posts of succentor, sacrist, librarian, pitanciary, and almoner. Of these last two, the former collected and distributed to his fellows the pittances and other emoluments to which they were entitled ; the latter handed out the alms to the poor, buried gratis any beggar dying in or near the precincts, and looked after and trained, as we have already seen, the eight choir boys. In the absence of the dean one of the minor canons, rather curiously perhaps, was chosen by him to act as sub-dean with full authority except over the greater canons. This office was first inaugurated by Dean Baldock. His position was marked by certain privileges, such as permission to wear a major canon's grey almuce, to be triply censed, and to have a larger stipend. The second and third minor canons went by the name of senior and junior cardinal, names which are retained to this day. Upon these two rested the duty of supervising the choir, administering the Sacraments, and burying the dead, the junior cardinal especially attending to the sick. By the Minor Canons Act of 1875 their number was reduced to six, which during the Great War went down to four. Since then they have been increased to five with a slightly larger stipend to save the cost of the sixth, who solemnly appears in the rota for duty as " No. 6," but whose share of work is done by the remaining five in turn. They are expressly described as a " body politic under the style of the Custos or Warden and Minor Canons of St. Paul's

Cathedral," and each year at their annual meeting, on or near St. Barnabas's Day, they elect a warden from among their number. They possess two beautiful little seals (illus. opp. p. 176) :

(1) *Common Seal.* St. Paul with long beard, and with book in right hand and sword in left, point downwards. Legend : *S' : Coe : Collii : XII : Minor : Canoicor : Ecclie : Sci : Pauli : Lond :*

(2) *Private Seal.* Two swords in saltire, in chief the head of St. Paul, in base a book with clasp and on either side M and C respectively. Legend : *S': Coe : Coll : XII : Minor : Canonic : I : Eccl : S : Pl : Ad : Causas :*

Both seals date from about the time of the charter of incorporation, and are still in use as seal and counter-seal.

After the minor canons, indeed a long way after, came the Chantry Priests. By the fourteenth century there were about seventy-three chantries, some poorly endowed, and it is easy to see that their chaplains, with really very little to do, were bound to become a source of trouble and scandal. Chaucer refers to them as being beneficed priests who left their parishes untended for these easier posts at St. Paul's, and Colet tried to check this by enacting among his reforms that no chaplain should hold a benefice at the same time. With the suppression of all chantries in 1546, these priests disappeared, and it is unlikely that any one, certainly not the ecclesiastical authorities, regretted their departure.

We now come to a valuable body of officials, namely the vergers, or rod-bearers, who have long

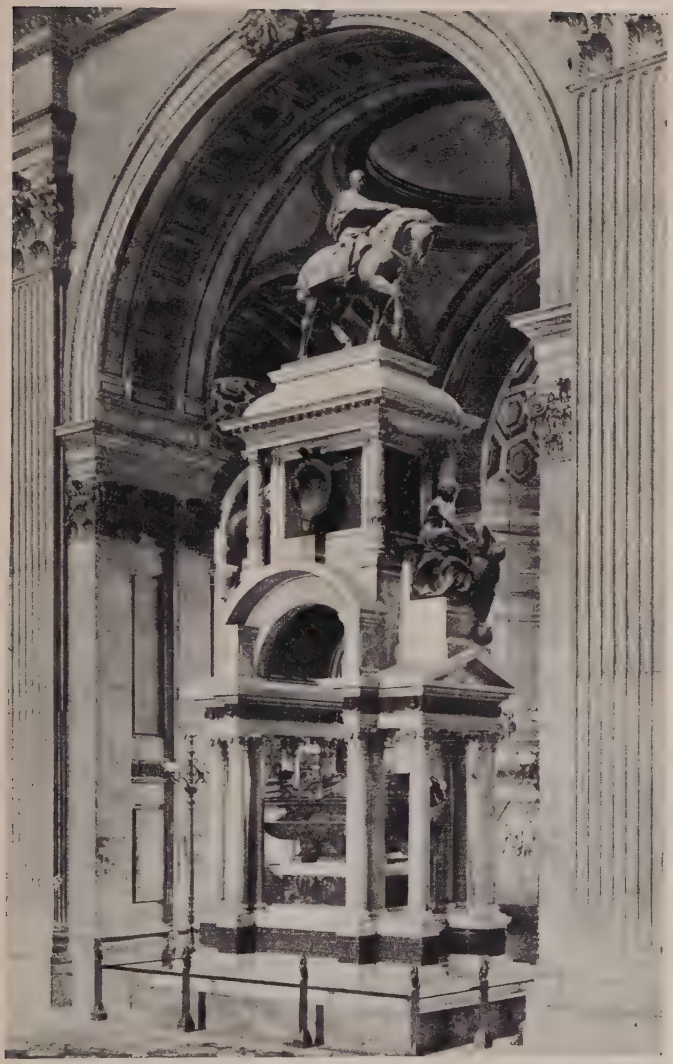
been in existence from the nature of their office. Originally they were appointed by the treasurer, and their duties are set out in the Cathedral statutes. They had to see to the ringing of the bells and the blowing of the organs, for which they had the help of boys; they opened, closed, and cleaned the church and looked round to see that no suspicious characters were lurking unnoticed within the building at night. Intruders into the quire were to be expelled by them in an "honest and sober manner," and, in view of the fact that *res uxoria*, i.e. matrimony, was sometimes liable to be a "busy and tempestuous affair," bachelors only were eligible for the post! In later days they were unpaid, and more or less independent except that on taking office they had to swear fidelity to the Dean and Chapter and each year handed in their rods, which they received back if their record of behaviour was satisfactory. They were allowed to charge each visitor 2d. to enter the Cathedral, and shared between them the fees produced by other parts of the building. From 1851 onwards various arrangements were made for their remuneration, but now they receive a fixed salary and their post is tenable for life subject to three months' notice on either side. The numbers are still as in old days. The dean's verger walks immediately in front of the dean, the preacher's verger before the preacher, the canon's verger in front of the officiating canon, and the junior verger before the choir. The last official to be mentioned, who was known as "Paul's Daughter," no longer exists, but, according to Dr. Simpson, it appears that it was his duty to lend out forms at a charge of 2s. 6d. for

the use of members of the City Companies when assembled on their stands in the churchyard to watch processions.

After the Great Fire, houses were built in Amen Court by Wren for three of the residentiary canons, which are still inhabited, and from which probably came the rain-water cisterns noticed on the way to the Library (p. 75). Perhaps the most extraordinary thing about them is, as Canon Newbolt points out, that they were erected with money borrowed by the king from the canons and actually *paid back!* When the lease over the remainder of the property then occupied by an inn called the "Oxford Arms" ended in 1879, the opportunity was taken by Dean Gregory to clear the site and build the houses wherein the minor canons, the organist, and the dean's verger live. This astonishing little oasis of greenery in the heart of the City is said, according to Canon Newbolt, to contain a tree which dates back to the time in pre-Fire days when this part was cultivated as a "physic" garden.

LIST OF PREBENDS, WITH PSALMS

Finsbury or Halliwell. .	Benedictus Dominus Deus qui docet.
Chamberleyneswood in Willesden	Bonum est confiteri in Domine.
Holebourne extra London .	Salvum me fac Domine.
Herlesten in Willesden .	Fundamenta ejus.
Portepool extra London (now Gray's Inn)	Quid gloriaris in malitia.
Mora extra London in Par. of St. Giles, Cripplegate	Confitebor tibi in toto corde.
Kentesdone or Cantlowes (Kentish Town)	Dominus illuminatio mea.



S.P.C.K.

MONUMENT: DUKE OF WELLINGTON

S.P.C.K.

TOMB : DUKE OF WELLINGTON

TOMB : GENERAL GORDON

Twyford in Willesden. .	Deus misereatur nostri.
Mapesbury in Willesden .	Memento Domine David.
Oxgate in Willesden . .	Domine exaudi.
Sneating in Kirkby (Essex)	Dominus Deus meus respice.
Wellokesbury in Par. of St. Giles	Quemadmodum desiderat.
Brownswood in Willesden .	Deus judicium tuum Regi da.
Rugmere in Par. of St. Pancras	Ad Dominum cum tribularer.
Eldestreet in Shoreditch .	Dominus regnavit exultet.
Totenhale in Par. of St. Pancras	Beatus vir qui non abiit.
Cadington Minors (Beds.) .	Miserere mei Deus.
Sanctus Pancratius . .	Voce mea.
Reculverslandin Tillingham	Beati quorum remissio.
Wyldeland in Tillingham .	Exaudi, Domine, justitiam.
Hoxton in Shoreditch .	Defecit in salutare anima.
Eldeland in Tillingham .	Deus stetit in synagoga.
Iseldon extra London (now Islington)	In convertendo Dominus.
Willesden	Noli aemulari.
Consumpta per Mare (at Walton in Essex)	Confitemini Domino.
Brondesbury in Willesden .	Beatus vir qui timet.
Neasden in Willesden. .	Domine ne in furore.
Newton Canonicorum (now Stoke Newington)	Confitemini Domino quoniam.
Cadington Major (Beds.) .	Omnes gentes plaudite.
Chiswick	Nonne Deo subjecta.

DECORATION

Of the pre-Fire Cathedral we know little as to how it was beautified, but we do know that there were many chantry chapels and tombs of famous people and, if the revelation of paint and gilding at Westminster Abbey in recent years is any criterion, then we may be sure that the church of those days on this spot must have been fair to behold.

Under this heading, however, we are more particularly concerned with the modern schemes of decorating some of the broad internal surfaces of the present Cathedral, which only carry out what Wren had always had in his mind; for in "Parentalia" we are told that he wished to decorate the interior of the cone with mosaics by the aid of artists imported from Italy, but "as this Art was a great Novelty in England and not generally apprehended, did not receive the Encouragement it deserved." This difficulty was, of course, apart from the equally troublesome question of expense, and Wren had therefore to be content with having all the walls oiled and painted, a work which was undone in 1872, leaving the stone in consequence rather patchy in appearance. Nevertheless Wren has left behind him one exceedingly interesting little piece of work which in its own particular line may very possibly be unique in this country. If the reader will stand anywhere in the main area below and look up through the open eye of the inner dome, he will see in the distance what appears to be a coffered and gilded ceiling with swags of fruit, shells, rosettes, and a bold cornice (illus. opp. p. 177). This in point of fact is yet another "sham," for it is only a representation of ornament painted on canvas which has been padded out probably with plaster and is a kind of work comparatively common in Italy and elsewhere on the Continent. Professor A. E. Richardson, of the School of Architecture in the University of London, to whom the writer owes several pieces of most useful information, says that he has been unable to trace the employment by Wren of any foreign

artist for this purpose, and considers that the " whole spirit of it is in Wren's manner." He goes on to tell the writer, " My own theory is that the decoration was schemed by Sir Christopher Wren and carried out by Sir James Thornhill or this artist's assistants." Certainly it so fits in with the building that the suggestion of Wren's responsibility for the idea seems most convincing.

Mention of Thornhill brings us to the lower dome, whereon are painted his eight scenes from the life of St. Paul, contrary to the intention and wishes of Wren. In some quarters it has been the fashion to decry his work and certainly one obvious criticism is that, owing to the lack of light and their subdued colouring, they are rendered almost invisible except from the Whispering Gallery; but on the other hand there is much life and sound composition in these cartoons, as may be seen in the illustration opp. p. 209. Painted in 1715–21, at a cost of £6,575, they represent (1) St. Paul's conversion; (2) His preaching before Sergius and the punishment of Elymas the sorcerer; (3) Sacrifice at Lystra; (4) Conversion of his gaoler at Philippi; (5) Preaching at Athens; (6) Burning of books at Ephesus; (7) His defence before Agrippa; (8) Shipwreck at Melita. The story has often been told, and is worth repeating, of how Thornhill very nearly lost his life during the work. Stepping back on the scaffold one day to see the effect of what he was doing, he all unconsciously went to the very edge and was within an ace of falling over when his assistant, Bentley French, realizing the danger, ran up and daubed the newly-painted work. To rescue his painting

Thornhill rushed forward and so his life was saved by this timely presence of mind. The cartoons have not worn very well and some seventy-two years ago were restored by Mr. E. T. Parris, but they look as though they would soon require further attention. Mention of Thornhill's escape reminds us of an equally near thing which happened about 1754, when Mr. J. Gwyn was engaged in measuring up the dome for his well-known sectional drawing. In his case he actually slipped when on the outside of the dome and must inevitably have shot down some 200 ft. on to the roof below had not his coat caught in some fortunate way on the projecting end of one of the big leaden ribs and held him until he could be rescued. In 1773 Sir Joshua Reynolds and others put forward a suggestion for further decoration, but both Bishops Osbaldeston and Terrick seem to have scented " Romanism " in the proposal and effectually opposed the project.

Further down are the eight keystones to the big arches, each 7 ft. by 5 ft., wrought after they were in position by Cibber, and, adjoining, are the same number of large spandrels round the base of the dome containing the four Evangelists and four greater Prophets. Of these St. Matthew and St. John are from the designs of Mr. G. F. Watts, R.A., St. Mark and St. Luke from those of Mr. A. Britton, and the Prophets from those of Mr. Alfred Stevens, all in mosaic and executed in smooth flat style by Salviati, the well-known glass artist of Venice. The first (Isaiah) was put up so early as 1864, but for lack of money matters went slowly until the offerings and donations at the time of the thanksgiving, in

1872, for the recovery of the then Prince of Wales, enabled the work to go forward and by 1892 to be completed. Various other suggestions had also been made from time to time. Mr. Burges, who had been appointed in 1872 as architect to finish the Cathedral, in addition to and distinct from Mr. Penrose the surveyor to the Dean and Chapter, no doubt with St. Peter's at Rome in his mind's eye, suggested that a thin veneer of marble should be put over all the walls. Apart from the fact that St. Paul's seems not to have been intended for such treatment, so great was the expense, even on his own estimate, that it could not be contemplated. The idea also of substituting other paintings for those of Thornhill got so far that in 1873 Lord Leighton and Sir E. J. Poynter were asked to submit designs for that purpose, but owing to the opposition partly, so the " Builder " tells us, on the ground of there being too many nude figures in the designs, they were not accepted and the matter fell through. Some of the drawings have been relegated to the south triforium gallery, and one or two to St. Dunstan's Chapel and the north nave aisle.

Lastly we come to the mosaic work of Sir William Richmond, R.A., which is to be seen in St. Dunstan's Chapel, the four semi-domes, and throughout the walls and vaulting of the quire and aisles. This style of decoration was the suggestion of the artist, who decided to employ the earliest method of working in the rough, i.e. with the tesserae or cubes of glass inserted irregularly with their fractured surfaces outwards and with a space left between each, thus obtaining a more brilliant reflection. After

many experiments by Sir William and Messrs. Powell, of Whitefriars (now of Wigmore Street, W.), the makers of the glass, a start was made in 1891 upon the quire, and it is interesting to note that one of the vergers, Mr. H. V. Ireson, was one of the workers employed by the artist, and has kindly given the writer some useful information. It was found that some parts, such as the apse panels, saucer domes, and their "pendentives" (for explanation see p. 43), were built up of a fine red brick, which makes a most suitable surface to take mosaic, but that those other parts which were of stone had to have the surface chipped away to a depth of $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in order to bring it back to the original plane when the mosaic was in position. Care was taken at all times to see that there was no alteration of Wren's contours or mouldings.

The following is a short description taken mainly from the official account written by Bishop Forrest Browne for the Dean and Chapter in 1896, when the greater part of the work was done. Another good account is to be found in the Official Guide. It may perhaps be of interest to note that, according to Dr. Browne, the area of quire and apse mosaics amounts to 8,630 ft. and that, at the time when he was writing, the artist had used 6,750,000 cubes of glass and twelve tons of cement.

SANCTUARY

Apse. Our Lord in majesty with the recording angels, in panels on the north and south sides.

Bay below. Six panels showing the virtues, Hope, Fortitude, Charity, Truth, Chastity, and Justice.

Frieze below cornice. "Alleluia, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Alleluia," in black letters on a gold ground.

Western panels. Upper, north and south: The sea giving up its dead.

Western panels. Lower, on north: Sacrifice offered by Noah. On south: Blessing of Abraham by Melchisedec (illus. opp. p. 185).

Windows. Intended to harmonize with mosaic. Contain the twenty-four Elders (eight in each window), with golden crowns, and below them five angels with ruby wings carrying censers.

QUIRE

Easternmost bay:

Spandrels. North and south sides: Angels guarding the instruments of the Passion.

Saucer dome. The creation of birds. Golden eagles, peacocks, turkeys, and other fowl. Four shields bear arms of England, Scotland, Ireland, and all three combined. Dated 1892.

Pendentives. An angel in act of alighting, bearing a message from Heaven. Inscriptions taken from Isaiah ix.

Spaces by clerestory windows. On north, the Delphic and Persian Sibyls, with two of the Advent Antiphons, "O Sapientia" and "O Oriens." On south: David and Solomon. Advent Antiphons, "O Radix Jesse" and "O Clavis David."

Middle bay:

Spandrels. On north: Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise. On south: The Annunciation.

Saucer dome. The creation of fish ; the groundwork is divided into eight sections by the spoutings of whales.

Pendentives. Angel alighting as before. Inscriptions taken from Psalm cxlviii.

Spaces by clerestory windows. On north : Alexander the Great and Cyrus, King of Persia (Ezra i.). Antiphon, " O Rex Gentium." On south : Aholiab with the seven-branched golden candlestick and woven hangings, and Bezaleel the metal-worker. Antiphon, " O Emmanuel."

Western bay :

Spandrels. On north : The beginning of creation. On south : Adam and Eve with the Tempter in Paradise.

Saucer dome. The creation of beasts. Sections divided by palm trees ; all kinds of animals portrayed. Shields on wreath are of the four contributing Companies, viz. Fishmongers' (east), Merchant Taylors' (north), Goldsmiths' (west), and Mercers' (south). Dated 1895.

Pendentives. Angel alighting as before. Inscriptions taken from Psalm civ.

Spaces by clerestory windows. On north : The three men appearing to Abraham,with Sarah looking through the door of the tent. Job and his three friends. Antiphon, " O Adonai qui Moysi apparuisti." On south : Moses receiving the Law, and Jacob's Vision. Antiphon, " O Adonai et dux et dominus Israel."

Photochrom

NORTH NAVE AISLE

The Dean and Chapter

Triforium level :

Each bay has three panels bearing creatures to match those in each saucer dome respectively.

Windows :

Heavily leaded so that when looked at sideways there is little to distract the eye from the mosaic. Design formed of continuous spiral tendrils from a main stem. Angels are incorporated in the tendrils. The borders are copies of pre-Norman designs from churches at home and abroad, with a pattern of Stafford knots at the bottom. To match the mosaics the work is on a very small scale, and one window is said to contain as many as 7,000 pieces of glass.

Panels above the organ. On north : Adam in Paradise with lion and lioness. On south : Eve with tigers, peacocks, and a lyre bird.

QUIRE AISLES

North :

Easternmost arch-soffit. Orpheus and his lute.

Easternmost saucer dome. Four angels with sheaves of wheat, typifying the Bread of the Sacrament. Shields on border bear (1) a griffin sejant or gorged with an eastern crown gu : holding in the beak a Guernsey lily ppr. (Benyon of Englefield) ; (2) a lion's head erased and murally crowned arg : charged with a fess indented erm : (Fellowes). The gift of Miss Benyon in memory of her brother, Richard Benyon, in 1900.

Middle saucer dome. Winged figures in armour, with swords, blowing trumpets. Shields bear the arms of the Dean and Chapter, and the date 1904.

Westernmost saucer dome. Angels leaning on anchors reversed, with ships in background. The latter typify commerce, the anchors referring to the sign of the banking firm of Messrs. Glyn Mills, Currie & Co. Shields bear a double-headed eagle "displayed"—part of the arms of Lord Wolverton. Given by Mr. M. G. C. Glyn in memory of his father, the Hon. Pascoe C. Glyn (see tablet in easternmost bay of south quire aisle). (From information kindly supplied by the Secretary of the Bank.)

Westernmost arch-soffit. Our Lord seated with sheaves of corn, referring to the Parable of the Sower.

South :

Easternmost arch-soffit. Demeter, goddess of agriculture and the fruits of the earth.

Easternmost saucer dome. Four angels with staves and fruit, typifying the wine of the Sacrament. Shields with Masonic emblems. Donors, the Order of Freemasons.

Middle saucer dome. Four angels playing violins; two shields bear the arms of the Dean and Chapter, and the date 1904.

Westernmost saucer dome. Four angels with scrolls and castles in between them ; two shields bear the arms of the City of London and a mitre respectively.

Westernmost arch-soffit. Our Lord seated, surrounded by sheep—that is, as the Good Shepherd.

QUARTER DOMES

North-east. Our Lord enthroned on the Cross as the tree of life (Revelation xxii. 1, 2). Donors, the Merchant Taylors' Company ; shield bearing their arms.

North-west. The Appearance of our Lord, or sometimes called the Commission to St. Paul. He certainly is present, but in company with other saints. Donors, the Mercers' Company, with shield of arms.

South-west. The Entombment. Donors, the Grocers' Company, with shield of arms.

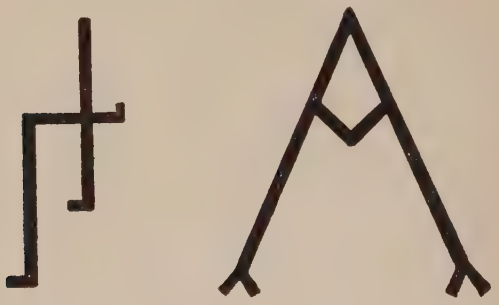
South-east. The Resurrection. Donors, the Goldsmiths' Company, with shield of arms.

These subjects are said to be based more or less on 1 Corinthians xv. 3–6. All blank surfaces between panels, borders, etc., have been painted in colours mixed with wax liquefied with petroleum, which sets exceedingly hard. No oil paint has been used.

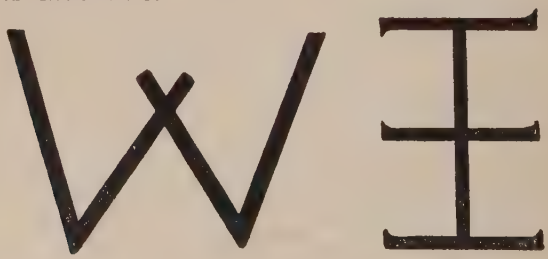
This work of Sir William Richmond has always been subjected to a good deal of criticism. Some find fault with the use of this primitive Byzantine method of mosaic work as being out of harmony with a Renaissance building; others complain that the details are too small, and out of scale with Wren's work. Others again dislike the "confused, gloomy windows," and the writer may venture to add that he feels that the artist's power of design was giving out when it came to the Glyn mosaic in the north quire aisle, nor does the hard row of angels' heads in the apse windows give him any pleasure. On the other hand, it is fair to state that in respect of the use of a small scale, the object was to increase the height of the saucer domes in appearance, whereas anything large would have flattened them still more. Nor can it be denied that, leaving details out of account, the general effect of richness and brightness has been attained better than would have been possible by any other medium.

MASON MARKS AND GRAFFITI

As might have been expected in so comparatively modern a building, the harvest of marks and scratchings is very thin. Such as there are have all been deeply cut V shape with the chisel or bolster.



are both 7 in. high, the first 3 in. and the second 6 in. at its widest, and are to be found close together on the ledge of the inside wall in the triforium of the north nave aisle.

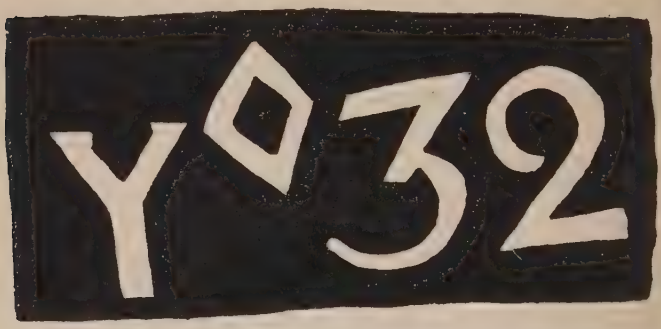


are also on the triforium level, and have been very kindly supplied by Mr. E. J. Bolwell, the clerk of the works. The first measures 3 in. high by 2 in. broad, the second being 4 in. high.

Graffiti provide little more than initials and dates, which do not have much interest except in those cases where they help to date any part of the building, or have some special reference. Thus, for example, on the second flying buttress from the east in the north quire aisle triforium, we find "G. P. 1692," and in the passage to the staircase leading to the upper part of the library is the date 1706, at which time we know this part was being built. On a pillar on the north side of the apse in the crypt there is cut "W. S. 1805," and it is reasonable to think that this might be a member of the Strong family, whose connexion with the Cathedral has lasted from its building down to the present day. From the depths we go to the heights, and on entering the lantern the first thing we see on our left is "I. W. L." 1710, the year the building was completed. Outside in a niche facing east are five pairs of initials in a column, W.S., I.F., W.W., ?.T., P.H., with August 22, 1782, beneath, and in this case it should be noted that the lettering and date are in relief and not incised. In the re-entrant angle facing north-west the walls are completely covered with incised names and dates, but all so weatherworn as to afford little information beyond the fact that several of the dates seem to be late eighteenth century. A stone at the bottom of the centre face has the date 1773 and, perhaps, "Phineas Ob——," and beneath the latter appears the surname, Wren, very distinctly.

Quite the most interesting thing of this kind is the stone in the possession of the Bath and Portland Stone Firms, Ltd., from which, by the kindness of their London manager, Mr. W. Pangbourne, the

writer is able to produce the accompanying mark. This Y, or wine-glass as it would be called to-day by the quarrymen, is no less than the private mark



of Sir Christopher Wren, which he had cut on all stone supplied to his own use in London ; and it will be remembered that all the stone from Portland, except for Government purposes, was earmarked for Sir Christopher during the period of rebuilding, and was taken mainly from the two quarries named Eastcliffe and St. Paul's on the east of the island. The diamond, so Mr. T. Sturge Cotterell, of Bath, kindly informs the writer, has been used as a quarry mark at Portland from time immemorial, and it is still so used to-day with the addition of the letter F within. The number is merely that of the stone, all stones even to-day being marked and numbered according to plan before being sent out. The surface of the stone being exceedingly rough the rubbing was not an easy matter, although the marks are very fairly well preserved, and therefore for the purpose of illustration they have had to be slightly amended to make them clear. The whole history of

the Portland quarries, situated in a position cut off very much from the rest of the world, is most curious. The dialect of the inhabitants, their primitive conveyance of land by mere gift in church, and the apportionment and collection of rents and payments by the record on the reeve's staff, reminiscent of the old Exchequer tallies, takes us in a moment back to feudal times to an extent that is positively astounding to modern ideas.

REGISTERS

Baptisms. These date from February 2, 1875, but pinned to the book is a paper with records of four baptisms which took place in 1708–13.

Marriages. From December 5, 1697, to February 7, 1758, and then again from August 9, 1877, onwards. In 1727 a couple were married "after Banns in their Parish Church." The gap between 1758 and 1877 is said to have been due to Lord Hardwick's Marriage Act of 1753, which only allowed marriages in churches where banns had usually been published and which therefore cut out most of the chapels in London, as well as St. Paul's, which has no parish.

Deaths. From 1760, the earliest burial in the vaults being in 1766.

THE USE OF ST. PAUL'S

It is to be observed that originally St. Paul's, like some other Cathedrals, had its own "Use" in respect of services and ceremonial. Unfortunately no details have been preserved, and it is only possible to think, with Dr. Simpson, that in the two offices of

St. Erkenwald (B.M., Add. MS. 5810, p. 198) and Thomas of Lancaster (B.M. Reg. 12, CXII, f. 1), we have probably some small portions of this Use. It does not, however, seem to have been employed much outside the Cathedral except in about three churches, and in fact was not particularly popular. Dr. Wickham Legg (Trans. St. P., Eccl. Soc., Vol. VI) says that, in 1376, the clergy of St. Giles', Cripplegate, on finding their books with St. Paul's Use worn out, replaced them with some containing the Use of Sarum. The canons endeavoured to enforce their own Use and appealed to the Pope, who referred the matter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with what immediate result, however, we do not know. On the other hand we probably see that its unpopularity had effect in the end, for, in 1414, Bishop Clifford issued an ordinance enjoining for the future in his diocese the Use of Sarum. No doubt this order was approved by the neighbouring parishes, but Mr. J. Maskell, the well-known liturgiologist, has shown that although Clifford's order held good in respect of the singing and reading of the services, the canons paid no attention to it in matters ceremonial. At the same time Blunt has pointed out that from about this time onwards even the Sarum Use was often disregarded in the country generally in favour of Roman customs.

PIGEONS

These birds have been associated with St. Paul's for many centuries, for we read in the Grey Friars Chronicle that in 1550 a man fell down and broke

S.P.C.K.

TOMB : LORD NELSON

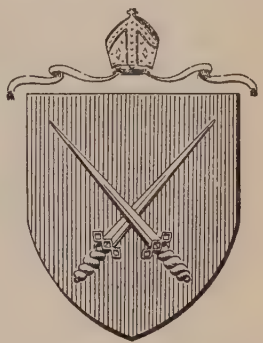
A. Hester

LOOKING EAST : TRIFORIUM LEVEL

his neck "for kechynge of pegyns in the nyght," and others damaged both the statuary and the glass windows of the Cathedral by shooting at them. Not only so, but in the painted diptych (illus. opp. p. 24) and any other, even earlier, representation of St. Paul's, it will be noticed that many birds are invariably shown flying about the building. What was true then is even more so to-day. The numbers are no less and the custom of feeding them and inducing them to perch upon their benefactor make it no longer necessary to go to the Piazza of St. Mark, at Venice, for this type of amusement! Nor are pigeons only to be seen, for, in the late afternoon, the anxious twittering and chattering of immense flocks of starlings on the western towers is a comparatively new development. These latter birds, however, merely come here to roost and, in contradistinction to the human beings below them, go out into the country during the day to their business of getting bread and butter.

ARMS OF THE SEE

From a very early date the arms of the See have been and still are: "Gules, two swords in saltire, points upwards, argent, hilted and pommelled or." Their first-known appearance seems to be on the seal of Bishop Ralph Stratford.



ARMS OF THE SEE

The arms of the Dean and Chapter are similar to those of the See, but with a "D or" added in the

centre chief. These do not seem to date earlier than the present building, and in point of fact the general opinion is that they are not really authorized.

LOCK PLATE WITH ARMS OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER

DIMENSIONS OF THE CATHEDRALS OF ST. PAUL

Measurements relating to the old Cathedral have been something of a difficulty for, needless to say, nothing really accurate has come down to us in writing. Perhaps in these days the interest is more or less academic, but still some kind of record should be given, because in its day Old St. Paul's was the longest church in Christendom until the building of St. Peter's at Rome, and its spire well o'ertopped that of Salisbury.

The following figures are those estimated by Mr. E. B. Ferrey (with the exception of the total length determined by the excavation of Mr. Penrose), and on which his very careful reconstruction of the earlier pile was based.

OLD ST. PAUL'S

Total length (Ferrey, 596 ft.)	585 ft.
Breadth, including aisles	104 ft.
Height of nave interior	93 ft.
Height of quire interior	101½ ft.
Height of Lady Chapel interior	98½ ft.
Height of tower	285 ft.
Height of spire	208 ft.

Excavations by Mr. Penrose definitely settled the site of the original west end as being 15 ft. from the stone curb of the railing round the statue of Queen Anne, and the buttresses and walls of the extreme east end have also been determined, thus settling the question of length beyond any doubt. Older writers, such as Dugdale, Stowe, and others, generally give the total length as 690 ft., but this must originally have been a clerical error mechanically copied by one from another.

NEW ST. PAUL'S

Total length (including portico)	500 ft.
Breadth across transepts within doors of porticos	250 ft.
Breadth of nave and aisles	118 ft.
Breadth of nave and chapels at west end..	190 ft.
Height to top of ball and cross	365½ ft.
Diameter of dome (varies)	106 to 112 ft.

Some of these measurements are from among those given by Mr. Longman, but the height was specially taken by the Cathedral staff in 1915. The seating capacity of the Cathedral is approximately 5,000 persons.

CHAPTER VII

CATHEDRAL—PRESENT CONDITION

PUBLISHED as this account is at a time when the Cathedral is on everybody's lips, it is clear that the reader will expect to be told something as to the present state of affairs. The difficulty, however, is that matters change so rapidly that what may loom large in importance now may be out of date in a few months' time, for opinions are many and diverse, to the distraction, doubtless, of the Dean and Chapter, and certainly of the "man in the street."

This much can at least be said, that the trouble is of such old standing that it began before the building was finished! The settlement of the dome piers and bastions was originally unequal, and this naturally resulted in cracks and loss of levels which Edward Strong, the master mason, had to make good. Outside at the clerestory, these repairs are to be seen where long triangular-shaped pieces of stone have been inserted in the window-cills to make up the proper level. In the Fabric Rolls for December, 1709, we get payments to Edward Strong "for Days worke done in repairing the Flaws occasioned by the presure making good such stones as could be left remaining wth lead and plaister being the eight Leggs of ye Dome," etc. Again, in May, 1710, "for

worke done in repairing the flaws and fracktres in the head of the south-west Tribound upon the diagonal of the Dome," and many other entries of a similar kind round about these years and a little later could be quoted. This mischief, no doubt, was, and certainly is, aggravated by the fact that Wren's eight piers were not built of solid stone but of a casing of Portland with a core of rubble which was not only of a soft variety to begin with, but rendered additionally brittle and weak by the fire through which it had passed. Although this was a method of building which Wren himself had condemned in the old Cathedral, it is impossible to believe that he was cheated by his contractors and that this was done without his knowledge. It must have been because he was hard put to it both for money and for the sea-borne Portland stone, as we know was actually the case. This apparent inconsistency between Wren's principle and practice is not inconceivable, even for other reasons, for it is corroborated by the method employed in his most extensive use of iron ties throughout the building. He had himself always said that iron in stonework should be at least 9 in. from the air to avoid rust and yet, apart from the care taken with his big chain round the cone, cases are found over and over again elsewhere of iron ties much too near the surface, and, in consequence, rusting and causing a great deal of damage. It may also be noted, as Mr. W. G. Allen tells the writer, that the masons used lime mortar for bedding the stone, with the result that, whereas the mortar in the front part of the joints has set as hard as the stone itself from exposure to

the air, that at the back, to which the air has not penetrated, has remained soft, thus involving weakness and uneven distribution of the weight. To-day, of course, nothing but cement is employed for this purpose.

Subsequent surveyors to the Cathedral, such as Flitcroft (1758–1766) and Mylne (1766–1811), were successively obliged to make very extensive repairs, but Mr. Macartney is satisfied that, since the time of the latter, there has been no further serious subsidence of the foundations, which remain to-day pretty much as they were in 1783. This also applies more or less to both the western towers, which are leaning outwards to a certain extent. Here the result has been that there was little to hold up the portico, which proceeded to show a desire to go down Ludgate Hill. However, in the time of Mr. Somers Clarke, the late surveyor to the fabric, this trouble was put right, as he tells us in the "Architectural Review" for 1907, p. 143, by means of tie rods of manganese bronze, a metal which does not deteriorate by exposure even to the atmosphere of London. He also made tests in the two towers as to their solidity. In respect of the south-west tower, although both "Great Paul" and the pendulum of the clock swing east to west, the daily ringing of the bell seems to make no difference, indeed good time is kept whether the bell is rung or not. As regards the north-west tower, Mr. Somers Clarke went up to the top with a mirror one day when the full peal of bells was being rung and threw a ray of light on to the tower opposite. There was, however, no sign of movement, and it is therefore fair to suppose that

the settlements at this end of the building are also of long standing, and that the towers, as they are, are perfectly stable.

In this same year, 1907, the Commission, set up by the Dean and Chapter on the advice of Mr. Mervyn E. Macartney to consider the state of the Cathedral, issued its first report. It refers to the early repairs and quotes a report from Mr. Somers Clarke of some five years before, from which it appeared that he considered the dome to have sunk vertically to the extent of some 4½ in., thus breaking away from its supporting buttresses in the peristyle and below. The settlement of the piers was unequal, those on the south having sunk anything up to 6 in. and those on the north and east about 3 in. That there was a very heavy pressure upon the pillars and quarter domes was discovered in 1891, when the workmen, in preparing the surface for veneering with marble and mosaics, found flakes of stone flying out on being touched. The report, however, ended by expressing the opinion that there was "no immediate necessity for any extensive remedial measures," provided that "the present conditions of the subsoil and the present water level will be maintained." The last remark draws attention to a point of the highest importance, for it will be remembered that it was shown on p. 32 of how light a character is the soil below the foundations. By way of further explanation it may just be mentioned that Mr. Macartney tells us that St. Paul's lies about 930 ft. away from, and about 45 ft. above, the river Thames. Water in quantity is continually passing down from the North London hills, as witness the

various old-time streams, such as the Walbrook, the Fleet river, and others, and much goes beneath the Cathedral in a south-westerly direction. This means that the somewhat loose foundations are always wet in the lower parts, and provided that the subsoil remains in this moist condition, it forms a fairly satisfactory and solid foundation. In 1831, and a few years before that, however, very serious damage was done by the sinking of a very deep shaft for a sewer just outside the south portico. A protest from the Dean and Chapter stopped the work, but not before much sand had been removed and disturbance to the flow of water had occurred; and there is little doubt that this, combined with subsequent excavations and the covering of the streets with asphalt or substances through which surface water cannot penetrate, has lowered the water level beneath the Cathedral. Although, then, at the time of writing, the question of the foundations is not in point, for, by constant tests they are known to be keeping stable, it must always be remembered that there is possible danger from the lowering of the water level beyond the limit of safety when underground works of any kind take place in the neighbourhood, especially on the southern side. It is clear that Wren could not be expected to have anticipated this type of trouble, and the Commission pay him a fair and just tribute when they say, "That a building of the weight and magnitude of St. Paul's should have survived the altered conditions of the subsoil without more serious damage is an evidence of his masterly skill and ingenuity, for he provided against every danger known to his time."

S.P.C.K.

THE GREAT ORGAN: MANUALS AND STOPS

Photochrom

At the present day, therefore, it is weaknesses above ground that are primarily causing anxiety. The settlement of the dome and the fracturing of the buttresses already referred to have had the effect of throwing the weight of the dome and superstructure (altogether about 64,000 tons) on to the inner ends of the big piers. In point of fact, according to Mr. W. G. Allen, these ends are formed of very large blocks of Portland stone, so large as to make this part almost solid stone, but as they have come away from the remainder of the pier behind them where the weak rubble core lies, they are being asked to support a weight pressure of something like twenty-five tons per square foot, which is beyond their powers. At the end of 1912, the well-known engineer, Sir Francis Fox, was called in to advise upon the state of the building, and, as he recalls in his "Sixty-Three Years of Engineering," concluded that the trouble was serious and recommended grouting the piers, i.e. pumping in liquid cement at high pressure with a view to filling up the interstices between the rubble so as to make a solid whole. At this time it was thought that he was, perhaps, inclined to exaggerate the state of affairs, and, from 1912 to 1922, when a report was made by a newly-appointed Commission, the time was taken up with experiments in reparation and with the replacement of crushed and broken stones by fresh material from Portland in large quantities. In December, 1924, came another long-awaited report, in which the Commission advocated the scheme of grouting as the best method of repair in preference to the more serious alternative of reconstructing the

piers entirely ; and this was very quickly followed by a bombshell in the form of a " dangerous structure " notice served upon the Dean and Chapter by Mr. John Todd, the surveyor to the Corporation. This very naturally aroused considerable excitement and let loose the floodgates for a stream of opinions and criticisms, schemes and suggestions, some wise but mostly otherwise, to flow in upon all those responsible for the Cathedral. Certainly, among those qualified to know, the opinion is very prevalent that grouting in these cases is not very dependable, because it is impossible to say with certainty that the grout has filled up all the interstices existing in the rubble ; on the other hand, the problem of reconstruction of the piers is one entailing much risk and difficulty, which is not to be so easily solved as the following lines over the initials W. H. B. in the " Morning Post " of January 10th, 1925, would like us to believe :

My dear Mr. Baldwin,
I'll drop you a hint,
St. Paul's is in danger
(You've seen it in print),
The experts declare
(Mr. Todd drives it home)
The supports are too weak, Sir,
To carry the dome.

Now, you've not been prolific
Of honours of late,
But the Church needs its pillars
As well as the State.
Next time, I assure you,
We'll greet, Sir, with cheers
The announcement you mean to
Create *eight new piers !*

At the same time the thought *will* obtrude itself that all this upper work, whether of grouting or entire reconstruction of the piers, might at any time be rendered useless should the foundations be adversely affected in any way, as we have seen to be by no means impossible; and this makes it arguable that the whole business of reparation should include a simultaneous strengthening of the foundations and so settle the possibility of future trouble once and for all. The original builders had the faith to launch out on a high adventure, despite the early doubts of Sir Christopher Wren (p. 28), and won through to a magnificent justification; why should not those in charge to-day emulate that faith rather than leave it, in the words of the Commission, "to a later generation to undertake the larger operation should it at any time become absolutely necessary"?

In February of last year, the Commission, composed of Sir Aston Webb, Mr. E. C. French, Mr. Basil Mott, Mr. G. W. Humphreys, and Mr. Mervyn E. Macartney, produced their final report, in which they urged that grouting should be continued on the ground that it would at least restore the piers to a state as good as they were originally, and definitely dissociated themselves from the idea of complete reconstruction of the piers for the reason that this might have the effect of upsetting the foundations which, at the moment, they "can say with confidence" are stable. A tendency to spread at the extreme base of the dome and cone has been discovered, and this, it is suggested, should be counteracted by encircling the building with metal

hoops at the level of the Whispering Gallery. It is also rather surprising to find that, according to tests made by the National Physical Laboratory, it is definitely laid down that "no deleterious effect is taking place" from the vibration caused by passing traffic. Wren has been frequently quoted, in connexion with this present trouble, as having once said that he gave the life of his Cathedral as two hundred years, but no authority is ever given for this statement, and as we know from "Parentalia" that Wren's opinion was that "Building certainly ought to have the Attribute of eternal," the probabilities are that it was a "canard" spread about in his latter days to damage his reputation.

WREN AND HIS FELLOW-WORKERS

No book upon St. Paul's, for obvious reasons, can be complete without some short appreciation of the genius who built it and of the really wonderful band of master-workmen whom he called to his aid. Of Wren we know much, of the others for the most part little; but at any rate the putting of his name on record is the least that can be done by way of tribute to any craftsman who has produced a beautiful thing. Unfortunately this is where early chroniclers and others after them so very often fail, and it therefore behoves those of modern days to learn from experience of the omissions of the past and see to it that, whether as a matter of fact work is good, bad, or indifferent, credit for it shall be given where such credit is due.

The outstanding figure in this little gallery must, of course, be that of Sir Christopher Wren, who was

born in 1632 at East Knoyle, in Wiltshire. His father, of the same Christian name, had been chaplain to King Charles I, and afterwards became

EAST END: CORNICE DECORATION

Dean of Windsor and Registrar of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. He, too, was something of a mathematician, and is recorded in " Parentalia " as having written in a private notebook, c.1623, " all the numeral Letters in the Latin Tongue can make

up but 1,666, so that when the odd 666 are completed in the years of Christ, it may bode some ominous Matter and perhaps the last End." Ominous, indeed, both for ill and good, but in other fashion than he expected, for little did he contemplate the catastrophe of an appalling fire in London, or that it would establish for all time the fame of his yet unborn son. During the Commonwealth the dean was much persecuted. Turned out of his house, which was twice ransacked, the second time with the loss of valuables in connexion with the Order of the Garter which he had carefully hidden, he was harried at East Knoyle because of paintings he had designed and had put on the walls, and finally was deprived of his living. He then went to his daughter Susan, who had married William Holder, rector of Bletchington, Oxon., where, in 1657, he died worn out by the malice of his persecutors. Neither did his brother, Matthew Wren, fare much better. He had preceded Christopher in the Deanery of Windsor, and was subsequently made Bishop of Norwich and then translated to Ely. In 1648 he was imprisoned by the Roundheads and, refusing the ignominious terms of submission to Cromwell by which he might have obtained his release, remained in the Tower until the accession of Charles II. To return to his nephew, the real subject of these notes, we find that he went in 1642 to Westminster School under the famous Dr. Busby. Not till seven years later did he go to Wadham College, Oxford, where he found the warden to be Dr. Wilkins, whom he had already met in London as one of the founders of what is now the Royal

Society. While there he also made the acquaintance of John Evelyn, who came to visit the warden, and it may be surmised that the friendship which then started between these two was to stand Sir Christopher in good stead later on. At the beginning, however, he seems to have had only his own brilliant attainments to thank for a Fellowship at All Souls', and the Gresham Professorship of Astronomy in London, for the latter of which, in 1661, he accepted instead the Savilian Chair of Astronomy at Oxford. It was while here that the call came to Wren to exercise his great talents in a direction that, so far as is known, was completely new to him. The king pressed him to go to Tangier and put to rights the fortifications which were in a ruinous condition. Wren contrived to avoid this mission on the score of health and prayed that his services might rather be used in some way at home. Whereupon the king, not to be thwarted, created him forthwith assistant to Sir John Denham, the poetical and incompetent Surveyor-General. The question naturally arises, Why should Charles be thus strongly set upon employing Wren on work for which he had had no real training ? It is always pointed out that in those days education and knowledge were much less specialized than they are to-day, and that a man of Wren's stamp would have very wide interests and varied learning, as indeed we know to have been the case ; and yet why should Wren have been chosen rather than a professional architect like John Webb, who had all the teaching and tradition of his master, Inigo Jones, behind him ? And, be it noted, such a teaching must have been something out of the usual,

for it is more or less generally admitted that if Wren had the greater science, Inigo Jones had the surer taste in design. Speculation on the point is somewhat profitless, but it is not unreasonable to remember that Wren's uncle Matthew, now released from prison, had also been chaplain to Charles I, and, in consideration of his age and sufferings for the royalist cause, might well have had some influence to exert on behalf of his brilliant nephew. John Evelyn also, a *persona grata* at Court and Wren's close friend, quite probably pressed the latter's claims upon the king's consideration, to say nothing of anything his cousin Matthew, son of the bishop and now secretary to Lord Chancellor Hyde, might be able to do. Probably these influences, added to Wren's own conspicuous ability and extensive knowledge of mathematics and geometry, all combined to sway the king's judgment, and thus we find Wren, in 1662, involved in yet another sphere of activity where he was destined to surpass all his previous achievements. That his uncle had confidence in Sir Christopher is clear, for the latter's first architectural work was to design a doorway for the north transept of Ely Cathedral, and then, in 1663–4, a new chapel for Pembroke College, Cambridge, also on a commission from his uncle.

Wren's first connexion with St. Paul's came about from the general desire to restore the old building, which had received little real attention, except for the repairs and additions of Inigo Jones, since the fire of 1561, and to which the ill-usage during the Civil War had put almost the finishing touch. It will be guessed that the general lack of all respect

CATHEDRAL
SEAL, C.1335

R CANONS' COMMON SEAL

MINOR CANONS' PRIVATE SEAL

TROPHY ROOM: DECORATION

for an ancient building which was invariably displayed by the Puritan, even to descending so far as the sacrilege of stabling horses in the nave of St. Paul's, was not calculated to make for the improvement of an already impaired Cathedral. We shall see (p. 226) that Wren's report was adverse to restoration, and then, in 1665, before anything was settled, the Plague fell upon London and Wren went over to Paris to see the new buildings of the Louvre which, as he wrote, "altogether makes a School of Architecture, the best probably at this Day in Europe," and again: "My Business now is to pry into Trades and Arts." Then came the purging of the Great Fire and Wren's sensational opportunity. In 1667 he was made Surveyor-General and entrusted with the duty of rebuilding the City, St. Paul's Cathedral, and fifty-one parish churches. His most admirable plan for the laying out of the City, far-seeing and startlingly modern in conception, was a good example of his "broad generalizations and the sweeping majesty of his purview," as Mr. Stanley C. Ramsay has said, and well bears out Sir R. Blomfield's remark that "the special strength of Wren's genius lay in this largeness of idea, in this power of conceiving a great architectural scheme as a whole, of grasping it in complete perspective and keeping his purpose proof against all the temptations of unnecessary detail."

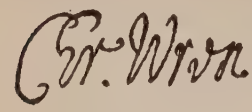
Wren's various designs for the Cathedral have already been dealt with, his trials and disappointments, his difficulties, and his marvellous resource and ingenuity in overcoming them. Throughout everything we note with astonishment his equable

temper, the even-mindedness of a truly great man which could rise superior to the petty meannesses of the committee, even when they could descend so low as to insult him by suspending half his humble salary of £200 a year in order that he might, forsooth, be induced to hasten on the work. For such a disposition he was no doubt partially beholden to his early upbringing in a religious household well acquainted with adversity. His own religion would seem to have subsequently become tinged with Puritanism, probably due to the complexion of the time during which he was a young man, and perhaps to his close association with Dr. Wilkins, a man, though, more Erastian than Puritan, for he could allow himself to be intruded by Cromwell into the headship of an Oxford college, and yet not scruple to accept the bishopric of Chester at the hands of his royal successor. But that Wren's religion was very real there is no doubt. Witness a small detail such as his notice against swearing which he had put up throughout the building: "Whereas, among labourers, etc., that ungodly custom of swearing is too frequently heard . . . and to the end, therefore, that such impiety may be utterly banished from these works intended for the service of God and the honour of religion—it is ordered that customary swearing shall be a sufficient crime to dismiss any labourer that comes to the call . . . ," and any master workman failing to check and "reform this profanation among his apprentices, servants, and labourers" shall be held to blame. Or again, at the completion of his lesser masterpiece, the church of St. Stephen, Walbrook, when the scaffolding and

centring had been removed from beneath the domed ceiling, Wren was found on his knees giving thanks for the good success of his work. Finally, in his old age, when complaints were trumped up and innuendoes of a most unworthy kind were being flung at him, when in 1718 one "who knew not Joseph" saw fit to heap the last and most bitter mortification upon the old Surveyor-General by dismissing him from office in favour of an incompetent blunderer —even then the greatness of the man stands out. and the pathetic but dignified reply comes back, "As I am dismissed, having worn out by God's mercy a long life in the Royal service, and having made some figure in the world, I hope it will be allowed me to die in peace." And this much was granted to him, that he should have, in lieu of pension, the Old Court House on the green at Hampton Court in which to live. From there he used to be driven up to St. Paul's where, with his eighty-six and more proud years upon him, he used to sit beneath his dome — with what a multitude of thoughts and memories thronging his still active mind—until one day he must somehow have caught a chill in the unwarmed building. and, going home, was later on discovered by his servant sitting in his chair peacefully sleeping his last long sleep. So passed on one of whom Isaac Barrow, a contemporary, well said without exaggeration, "It was doubtful whether he was most to be commended for the divine felicity of his genius or for the sweet humanity of his disposition."

That Wren's memory will always remain green in the minds of his fellow-countrymen is shown by the

celebration of his Bicentenary in 1923 amid a chorus of eulogies from all to whom Art in its highest forms and the abiding fascination of London's beauty are dear. Very naturally he was not forgotten in his own great Cathedral and so, on Monday, February 26th, there was held a service of thanksgiving to God "for the singular gifts which Thou didst bestow upon Thy servant, Christopher Wren, whom we remember before Thee this day." Nothing could have been more appropriate than the two opening Psalms, cxxii. and cxxxii.—the former with its ring of joyous delight at the visit to Jerusalem, the capital, with its glorious Temple; the latter probably referring to the dedication of the new Temple, in Ezra vi., and ending on a note of triumph; while the fine anthem, "O clap your hands together all ye people," by Maurice Greene, the organist of St. Paul's in Wren's closing years, was a graceful return to that time of which all in the congregation were thinking.



WREN'S SIGNATURE

. . . . . .

The impression given of Wren in business matters is the great attention paid to details. Nothing was too trivial for his consideration. For example, the Bath and Portland Stone Firms, Ltd., possess Wren's original list of the different qualities of stone at Portland, describing the various strata and saying which were suitable for working and which were not. Again, his mathematical mind was also turned to profit in devising methods of keeping accounts, which, as Mr. Lawrence Weaver points out, have

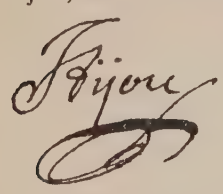
remained the same in principle down to the present day. The same gentleman goes on to say, "They show that in business organization Wren exhibited the same greatness and grasp which are so marked in him whether as mathematician, as constructor, or as artist. They form another element, indeed, in that amazing fabric of achievement which enlarges our wonder as we become the better acquainted with his life and work." Furthermore, in connexion with those in his employ, Wren appears as strict but eminently just and truly loyal to their interests. This is well exemplified in the case of Richard Jennings, his best-known master carpenter, who was accused of embezzling material intended for the Cathedral and whom the committee endeavoured to dismiss. Wren, however, stood by Jennings, published a vindication of him, and declined to part with him. As evidence of the kind of man Jennings was, it may be recalled that he instituted what was called "stairfoot money," i.e. a fee charged to all visitors coming to see the work. This money Jennings devoted to the benefit of workmen who met with injuries while at work on the Cathedral, and it must be recorded that when in due course the Dean and Chapter got to hear of this, they stopped the charitable part and diverted the takings into the pockets of certain of the Church officials!

STRONG'S SIGNATURE

For master-masons Wren went especially to the family of Strong, long established at Little Barrington in Gloucestershire, and with quarries of their own at Taynton, in Oxfordshire. He started with

Thomas Strong, who is generally said to have laid the foundation stone on June 21, 1675. He died in 1681 and was succeeded by his brother Edward, both in the family estates and in the work at St. Paul's. This man saw the remainder of the work through to the very end, assisted and ultimately followed by his son Edward junior, and died, aged seventy-one, just seventeen days before the great master architect he had served so well. He seems to have moved at some time to St. Albans, Herts, where his house may be seen at New Barnes, near by, and his tomb in the church of St. Peter. A portrait of him may be seen in the "Sphere" for 1913. Of the other contractors for stonework, the best known were Christopher Kempster, of Burford, already mentioned earlier, and Edward Beauchamp, who had married into the Strong family, and to-day we know that their work has not stood the test of time so well as that of Strong.

In his decorators Wren was peculiarly blessed. Tijou, his chief worker in iron, was a man of quite outstanding ability. Little is known of his history, except that he was a Frenchman who first appears about 1688 working for Queen Mary at Hampton Court. His earliest engagement for St. Paul's was to make the frames for the big ground floor windows, which he delivered in 1691, and from that time until about 1708 he was frequently being employed. Mr. Starkie Gardner tells us that his son-in-law, Laguerre, the decorative artist, has drawn a picture



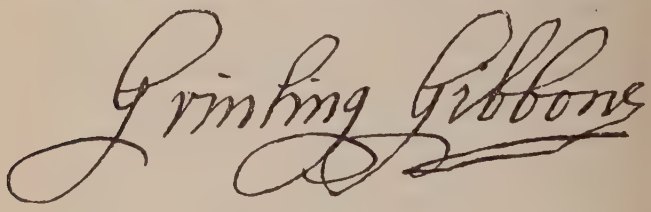
TIJOU'S SIGNATURE

of a man "in redingote and cravat, with hair tied behind, adjusting a leaf to an iron bar," and showing "a strongly marked face with heavy moustache but forbidding expression," which is almost certainly a likeness of Tijou. It is curious that such a little should be recorded of so eminent a craftsman, but his name only appears once in contemporary writings, and somewhere about 1712 it is said that he returned to France to die a disappointed man. The next name is that of an Englishman, Thomas Robinson, who also was a first-rate workman, and if, perhaps, he was overshadowed at St. Paul's, he nevertheless made a considerable mark elsewhere. His work in the Cathedral, such as the railing in front of the two western chapels and two of those in the quarter domes, is of good design and solid workmanship, with considerably less of Tijou's elaborate ornamentation. Thomas Colborne was also another smith employed for the rather rougher work, mostly in the shape of railings, e.g. for two of those in the quarter domes and for window frames.

From iron we turn to stone, and find awaiting us the well-known names of Francis Bird and Caius Gabriel Cibber, the father of the poet, Colley Cibber. The former was a Londoner who had, however, learnt the elements of his work in Brussels and Italy, and if his work showed no very great genius, still we need not attach too much emphasis to Walpole's unkind remark about the pediment over the western portico, that "any statuary was good enough for an ornament at that height and a great statuary had been too good." The latter certainly was a better craftsman and had a hand in the training of

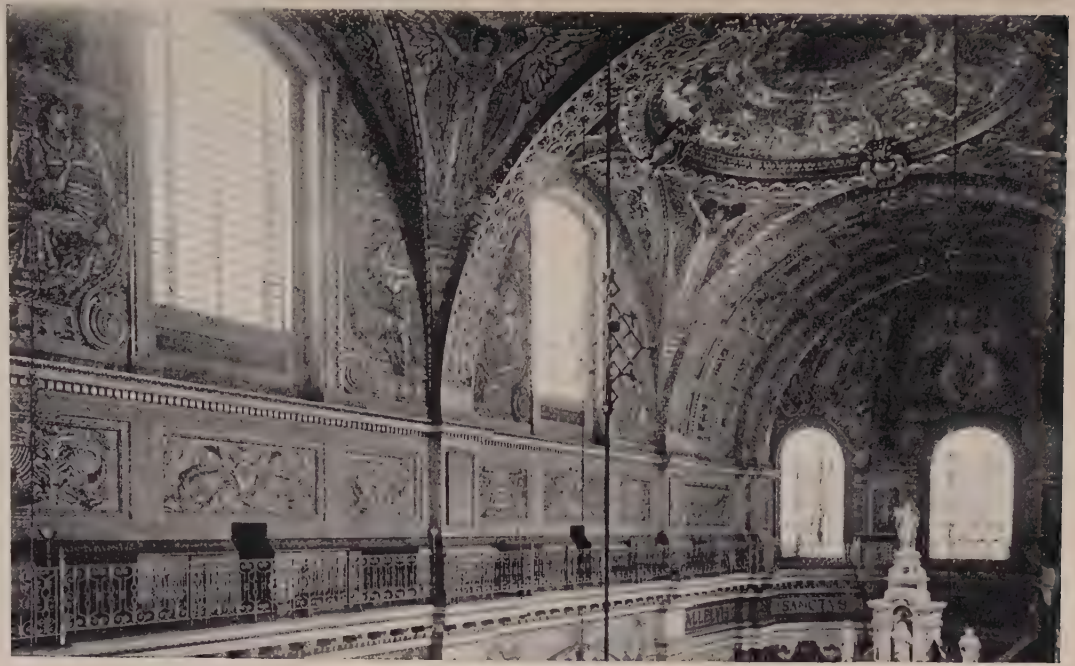
Bird. His work has already been referred to at intervals, and those examples which we can see nearest at hand, namely the " Incense Potts " near the south portico, are certainly very pleasing, sore weather-beaten though they are. Cibber is said to have come from Holstein, and perhaps it should be a rather chastening thought to recollect how much of the decoration of St. Paul's we owe to the skill of men from nations other than our own.

For a worker in wood Wren was indebted to John Evelyn for the lucky discovery of the incomparable



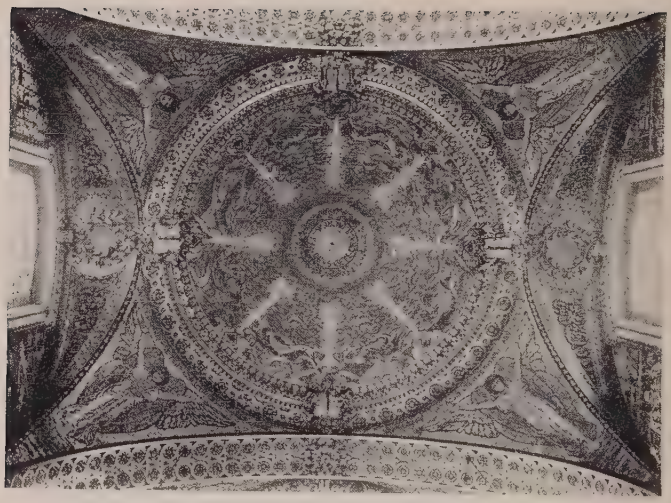
GIBBON'S SIGNATURE

Grinling Gibbon, who is believed to have started life without a final " s " to his name. He was quite a chance discovery at Deptford, near Evelyn's home, being found one day carving the scene from Tintoret's "Crucifixion" in a most delicate and elaborate frame. He has doubtfully been said to have been of Dutch origin, and more certainly to have been born in 1648, and to have died in 1720, but here any further knowledge of him ends and, like Tijou, he springs from obscurity into the limelight on the stage and passes out again into the dark, leaving, however, behind him a reputation which has become almost legendary. Indeed, had he produced only half the things which have been attributed to him his capacity for work



S.P.C.K.

QUIRE WALLS AND DOMES: SIR W. RICHMOND'S MOSAICS



S.P.C.K.

THE CREATION OF FISH

S.P.C.K.

THE BLESSING OF ABRAHAM

would have been altogether superhuman. His name is nearly always associated with most realistic carving of flowers and fruit, chiefly in soft woods such as lime, but we have seen (p. 36) that he could do the same work equally cleverly in stone, where the charming little heads of amorini also show that his skill in portraying the human figure would have been no less had he cared to have taken up that branch of art. Gibbon was ably supported by another admirable carver in Jonathan Maine, some of whose work we have already seen in the library and the western chapels, and may study further in some of the city churches.

But the list is not complete with a reference to the better-known craftsmen, for there were numbers of capable men whose names do not appear in the account books but only come to our knowledge by the merest chance. Indeed the following most delightful story shows, among other things, that Wren must have gathered together a remarkable band of subordinate but highly-skilled workmen, many of whose names have not come down to us. This story of Philip Wood comes in the first place from the original letter in the British Museum, but, for the purposes of this book, has been abridged from the transcript of the said letter which appeared in the 1907–8 volume of the Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

The letter is by Philip Wood to his "Dearest Hannah, my sweet Mistress," the daughter of Ralph Haybittle, a retired and wealthy London merchant living at Sudbury, in Suffolk. Philip, as an orphan, had been educated at the rich man's expense, and

having therefore no position or means, was obliged to hide his affection for his daughter from his benefactor, as we gather from the arrangements made for the delivery of the letter. Philip had a gift for carving and had ornamented Haybittle's house by his skill. He then decided to come to London like many another to make his fortune, but found work hard to get and that money did not last long. He writes to Hannah a full account of his doings, and says, " I used, for want of employment, to go to the Churchyard of St. Paul and watch the Building which will certainlie be one of the wonders of the world." He applied for carving work but was roughly told, " We want no hedge carpenters here." " A week yesterday as I stood as usual in great admiration a gentleman approached with papers in his hand and he talked with the workpeople ; and at last his eye fell on me and he said to the foreman, ' What does that young man want ? I will not have any persons about here unless they have business.' And the foreman answered, ' Please you, Sir Christopher, he is a country fellow who continually troubles us to give him some of the carving work to do.' On this the gentleman . . . beckoned me towards him and said, ' Friend, you want carving work ? What have you been used to carve ? ' " So nervous was Philip that he could only stammer out that he had carved troughs. " Troughs," echoed Sir Christopher, " then carve me as a specimen of your skill a sow and pigs ; it will be something in your line ; and bring it to me this day week. I shall be here." And then everybody laughed. Philip went back to his lodgings and cried bitterly for

having failed to make more of himself. Fortunately he had a wise and kindly landlady who, not having seen him all day, thought him to be ill and brought him up some broth, at the same time asking the cause of his trouble. On hearing it she replied, "Thou art wrong, for if the man who is building that great steeple house requires such and such a thing done, why, if thou really hast skill, it will be showed as well in that as in any other matter." Being thus comforted and heartened, Philip ate his broth, spent his last guinea on a block of pear wood, and in due time completed his task. On the appointed day he took his models wrapped up in his landlady's apron to St. Paul's, where he was met with jeers by the workmen. A weary wait of some hours ensued and then Sir Christopher was seen approaching with "a party of the quality." The foreman tried to stop him, but Philip in desperation pressed forward and caught the eye of Sir Christopher, who at once called him up. "I bowed and undid the apron and presented the carving to him. For a minute he held it in his hand—oh! dear Hannah! what an anxious minute!—and then he said, 'I engage you, young man; attend at my office to-morrow forenoon.' Then he walked on with his party, still holding the sow and pigs in his hand, but when he got a little distance, he turned round and said, 'Wait untill we pass back.' So I waited; and when they returned, Sir Christopher came up to me and said, 'Mr. Addison . . . would like to keep your carving and requests me to give you ten guineas for it.' I bowed and then he said, 'I fear I did you some injustice, young man; but a great

national work is entrusted to my care and it is my solemn duty to mind that no part of it falls into inefficient hands.' So I bowed and ran home, and my kind landlady was also overjoyed." Philip was in due course taken on and the remainder of this charming little story can be guessed by every reader. However, to make it quite clear, it may be said that some years later Philip was summoned to London by the Commissioners for the rebuilding of St. Paul's to give an explanation concerning certain large sums of money as per receipts. " On inquiry from their honours the Commissioners respecting the difference betwixt his name and the name on the various receipts, the said Philip Haybittle deposed that he married Hannah, only daughter of Ralph Haybittle, sometime a merchant in Cheapside, and by the terms of the will of his said father-in-law he was obliged to change his name " !

Over and above the dramatic and sentimental features of this tale, the reader is bidden to notice how it throws an additional light upon the character of Wren. No doubt, when he bade Philip carve the sow and pigs he did so half laughingly, but, as soon as he saw in Philip a most capable workman, he realized at once that, however unintentionally, he had been making a joke at the young fellow's expense ; nevertheless it is not every man in Wren's exalted position who would have been large-minded, in fact gentleman. enough to go up to that humble youth and make him so full and handsome an apology for what he felt had been something of a discourtesy.

CHAPTER VIII

BISHOPS

MANY early dates and names in the following lists are uncertain.

? RESTITUTUS (RHYSTYD) 314
MELLITUS . . . . . ? 604–619
CEDDA 654
WINE 666–671
ERKENWALD 675–685
WALDHER . . . . . ? 685
INGWALD c.704
ECGWULF . . . . . .
WIGHED (WIHELRUS, SIGHALE) 754
EADBRIGHT 761
EADGAR . . . . . 789 (? 769)
KENEWALCHUS . . . . . ? 773
EADBALDUS 784
HEATHOBRIGHT (HEREBERT) 795–802
OSMUND (OSWYN) 802
AETHELNOTH 816
CEOLBRYHT . . . . . ante 830
DEORWLF (CERNULPH) 841
SWITHULF 851
EALSTAN (I ?) (AELFSTAN) . . . . 860 ? 898–900
WULFSIUS 900
? ETHELWARD . . . . . .
? WULFSTAN I 922
? EALHSTAN II. . . . . post 926
THEODREDUS (THEODORE THE GOOD) . . . ? 938–947
BRITHELM. 958
DUNSTAN 959–960
EALHSTAN (III ?) 960–c.990
WULFSTAN (II ?) 996

Aelfhun	? 1004
Aelfwius	post 1015
Aelfword (related to Cnut)	ante 1035–44
Robert	1044
Sparhafoc (? consecrated)	?
William the Norman	1051
Hugh de Orivalle	1075–84
Maurice	1086–1107
Richard de Belmeis I	1108–27
Gilbert Universalis	1128–34
Anselm (election invalidated)	1137–c.1139
Robert de Sigillo	1141–51
Richard de Belmeis II	1152–62
Gilbert Foliot	1163–87
Richard FitzNeal (de Ely)	1189–98
William de Sancta Maria	1199
Eustace de Fauconberg	1221–8
Roger Niger	1229–41
Fulk Bassett	1244–59
Henry de Wengham	1260–2
Henry de Sandwich	1263
John de Chishul	1274
Richard de Gravesend	1280–1303
Ralph Baldock	1306
Gilbert de Segrave	1313
Richard de Newport	1317–8
Stephen de Gravesend	1319
Richard Bentworth	1338–9
Ralph de Stratford	1340
Michael de Northburg	1354–61
Simon de Sudbury (Tybold)	1362
William Courtenay	1375
Robert Braybroke	1381
Roger de Walden	1405
Nicholas Bubbewith	1406
Richard Clifford	1407
John Kemp	1422
William Gray	1426
Robert Fitzhugh	1431
Robert Gilbert	1436

Thomas Kemp	1450
Richard Hill	1489
Thomas Savage	1496–1501
William of Warham	1502
William Barons (Barnes)	1504–5
Richard Fitz-James	1506
Cuthbert Tunstall	1522
John Stokesley	1530
Edmund Bonner	1540
Edmund Grindal	1559
Edwin Sandys	1570
John Aylmer	1577
Richard Fletcher	1595
Richard Bancroft	1597
Richard Vaughan	1604
Thomas Ravis	1607
George Abbot	1610
John King	1611
George Mountain	1621
William Laud	1628
William Juxon	1633
Gilbert Sheldon	1660
Humfrey Henchman	1663
Henry Compton	1675
John Robinson	1714
Edmund Gibson	1723
Thomas Sherlock	1748
Thomas Hayter	1761
Richard Osbaldeston	1762
Richard Terrick	1764
Robert Lowth	1777
Beilby Porteus	1787
John Randolph	1809
William Howley	1813
Charles James Blomfield	1828
Archibald Campbell Tait	1856
John Jackson	1869
Frederick Temple	1885
Mandell Creighton	1897
Arthur Foley Winnington Ingram	1901

DEANS

Pre-Conquest deans are not included, as being too uncertain.

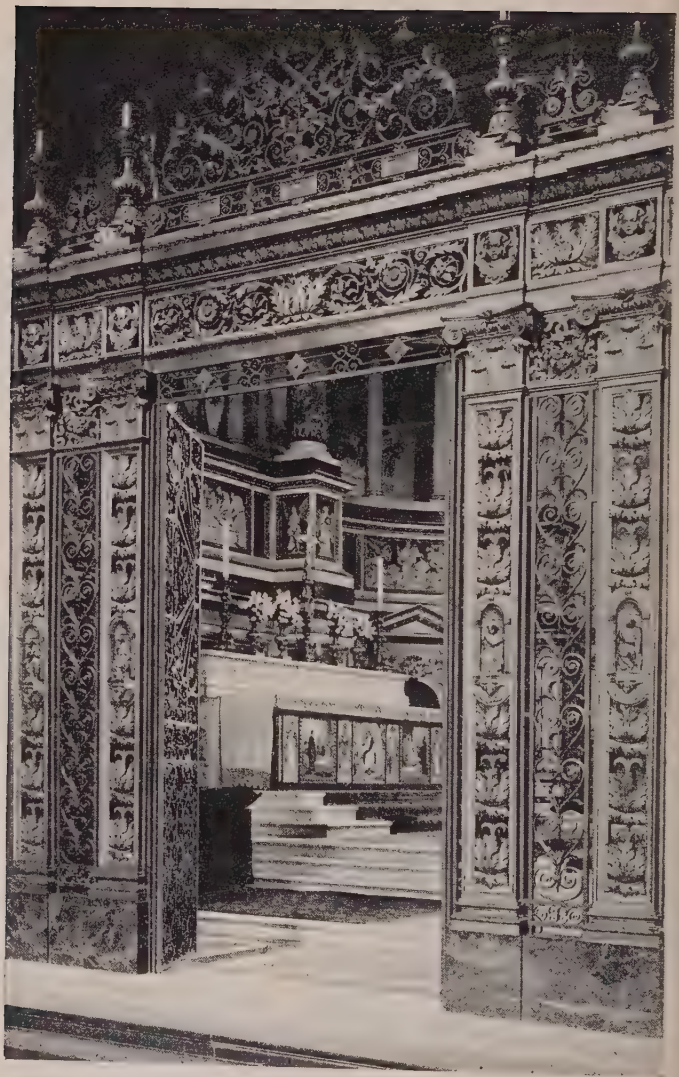
Wulfstan	(Temp. Bp. Maurice)
William (de Belmeis)	1111–38
Ralph de Langford (de Belmeis family)	1142
? Taurinus de Stamford	? 1154–62
Hugh de Marinis (Marney)	1160
Ralph de Diceto	1181–? 1202
Alardus de Burnham	?–1216
Gervase de Hobrugg	Deposed
Robert de Watford	1218
Martin de Pateshull	1228–9
Walter de Langford	?
Richard Wethershed	?
Geoffrey de Lucy	c.1231–40
William de Sancta Maria	c.1241
Henry de Cornhill	1243
Walter de London (Salerne)	1254
Robert Barton	1256
Peter de Newport	?
Richard Talbot	c.1262
Geoffrey de Feringes	1263
John de Chishull	1268
Herveius de Borham	1273
Thomas de Inglethorpe	1276
Roger de la Leye	1283
William de Montfort	1285
Ralph de Baldock	1294
Raymund de la Goth	1306
Arnoldus de Cantilupe	1307
John de Sandale	1311
Richard de Newport	1314
Vitalis de Testa	c.1316
John de Everdon	1323
Gilbert de Bruera	1336
Richard de Kilmyngton	1353
Walter de Alderbury	1362

CHRISTOPHER WREN
DEAN OF WINDSOR

MATTHEW WREN
BISHOP OF ELY

SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN

STEPHEN WREN
AUTHOR OF " PARENTALIA "



A. Hester

VIEW THROUGH NORTH CHANCEL GATE

THOMAS TRILLECK 1363
JOHN DE APPLEBY 1364
ROBERT DE BRUERE 1376
THOMAS DE EURE (EVERE) 1389
THOMAS STOW 1400
THOMAS MOOR 1406
REGINALD KENTWODE 1421
THOMAS LYSEUX (LISIEUX) 1441
LAURENCE BOTHE 1456
WILLIAM SAY 1457
ROGER RADCLYFF 1468
THOMAS WYNTERBOURNE 1471
WILLIAM WORSELEY 1479
ROBERT SHERBORNE 1499
JOHN COLET 1505
RICHARD PACE 1519
RICHARD SAMPSON 1536
JOHN INCENT 1540
WILLIAM MAY . . . . . 1545, removed 1553
JOHN FECKENHAM (HOWMAN) 1553
HENRY COLE 1556
WILLIAM MAY (restored) 1559
ALEXANDER NOWELL 1560
JOHN OVERALL 1602
VALENTINE CAREY 1614
JOHN DONNE 1621
THOMAS WINNIFFE 1631–41
RICHARD STUART (elected but did not enter) . . 1641
MATTHEW NICHOLAS 1660
JOHN BARWICK 1661
WILLIAM SANCROFT 1664
EDWARD STILLINGFLEET 1677
JOHN TILLOTSON 1689
WILLIAM SHERLOCK 1691
HENRY GODOLPHIN 1717
FRANCIS HARE 1726–7
JOSEPH BUTLER 1740
THOMAS SECKER 1750
JOHN HUME 1758
FREDERICK CORNWALLIS 1766

Thomas Newton	1768
Thomas Thurlow	1782
George Pretyman (Tomline added 1803)	1787
William Van Mildert	1820
Charles Richard Sumner	1826
Edward Copleston	1827
Henry Hart Milman	1849
Henry Longueville Mansel	1868
Richard William Church	1871
Robert Gregory	1891
William Ralph Inge	1911

HISTORICAL NOTES

The Introduction to this book has already dealt with the legendary and early history of the Cathedral, bringing it down to 1087, when it was destroyed by fire, and the account shall now be carried on from that point. The king granted materials for repair from the old Palatine Tower which used to stand about where now is Blackfriars Bridge and, under Bishops Maurice and Richard de Belmeis, the work was carried on vigorously, the latter giving all his income from the See towards it. For a long period this family was identified with the diocese, supplying another bishop and two deans. On the death of Gilbert Universalis, a learned foreigner from Nevers, there was a contested election to fill the See, for already the feeling that preferments in England should be reserved for Englishmen was becoming very strong. In this case some of the canons desired to have Anselm, Abbot of Bury St Edmunds, and nephew of the archbishop. Apart from the fact that he was somewhat autocratic, he was identified with the anti-national and anti-Stephen parties, and was

therefore rejected by the king. He appealed to Rome, was confirmed by the Pope and duly enthroned. A little later, however, his opponents, the dean's party, with the aid of Thurstan, Archbishop of York, lodged a counter-appeal by which they contrived to oust Anselm ; and one outcome of the dispute was a decree from Rome that no election by canons without the dean's vote was to be considered valid. Meanwhile, in 1136, fire had again visited the Cathedral, but Dean Milman thinks Matthew Paris wrong in saying that it was entirely burnt. Fire, however, was not the only trouble at this time. Bishop Robert de Sigillo, a partisan of the Empress Maud, having died in 1151, it is said by poison, Pope Eugenius III bade the canons elect a monk, which made matters awkward, seeing that they were not regular but secular canons. A timely interview got over the difficulty, and so another member of the Belmeis family became head of the diocese. His path, however, was strewn with many thorns. In the first place his private money affairs were handicapped from the beginning by being saddled with the enormously heavy debt of £500 which he had to pay back to the canons. This they, on their part, had incurred to the king by electing Belmeis instead of the royal nominee, for they claimed, if not always successfully, the free right under a bull of Pope Agatho (679–82) to elect the man of their own choice. Somehow, too, they seem to have repented later of their choice, for Richard encountered much insubordination from the Chapter, and then upon the top of all this the unfortunate man became paralysed, *laborabat paralysi*, as Ralph de Diceto,

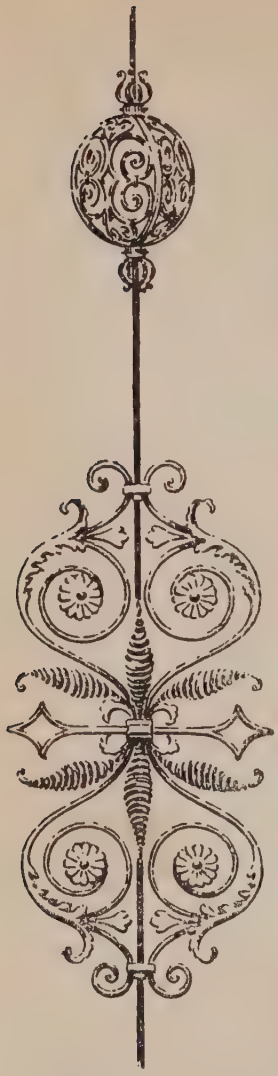
his archdeacon, tells us, but struggled on in his office to the bitter end. He was succeeded by Gilbert Foliot, so well known as the fierce opponent of Becket. A clever, ambitious man, and yet withal, it is said, of a most upright life, he reckoned among his friends both kings and popes, the latter entrusting him with the duty of collecting the Peter's Pence. Now it will be remembered that tradition had it that London had once been a metropolitan See and consequently its policy always tended in the direction of freedom from Canterbury. Such a tradition and claim were just the thing to appeal to Foliot, and therefore when it came about that he was translated from Hereford, itself a novelty, for such a thing as a translation from one bishopric to another had only once previously been known, he declined to make a further profession of obedience to Canterbury on the ground that he had already done so for Hereford, and that a repetition was unnecessary. It is, however, very probable that by this means he saw a chance of making a precedent which should ultimately lead to complete independence of the metropolitical See, or else it may have been done out of mere antagonism to Becket. His refusal on this occasion was allowed by the Pope but without prejudice to the rights of the metropolitan in the case of subsequent bishops, who as a matter of history did not at any time afterwards re-assert this claim. In fact, the utmost to which they attained was in 1204 when the writer of the Victoria County History tells us that the Pope then confirmed the position of the bishops of London as head of the suffragans of Canterbury. This is

supported by Lamb MSS. 590 and 1106, which in 1278 refer to John de Chishull, who, *tanquam Decanus caeterorum Episcoporum Provinciae Cantuariensis* (as it might be dean of the other bishops of the Province of Canterbury), twice called them all to London on general business. During the latter part of his time Foliot had as dean Ralph de Diceto, the learned historian, who has furnished some of the material for these earlier notes. He first comes under notice when made archdeacon to Richard de Belmeis II, from which fact Dr. Stubbs is inclined to infer that Ralph was some relation to the bishop, for it was the usual practice for a bishop to appoint a relation to so intimate and important a post as an archdeaconry. In this capacity Ralph had to make the necessary arrangements for the confirmation of Foliot's translation with the Pope, whom he met in Paris, and in many other ways he must have been a capable man. He was, too, not only an historian, but a theologian of some weight, added to which he was a methodical man of business. As soon as he was appointed dean, one of the first things he did was to make a survey of the Cathedral property, of which MS. a fragment is preserved to-day in the Bodleian Library; he then re-arranged the Cathedral statutes, more especially in respect of the amount of residence required from each canon, and finally built a deanery, c.1182, which he made over to the holders of that office for ever. Dr. Stubbs goes carefully into the problems of the date of his death and the origin of his name. He puts the former at probably 1202 and thinks that the latter has no connexion with Diss, in Norfolk, while he draws attention to

the curious fact that the dean always used his name in full and that he never appears by his Christian name only, as was so often the custom in those days.

To go back a few years. In 1189 the king and archbishop were away in France when the death of Foliot took place. They therefore wrote a letter bidding the dean and eight canons attend them in Normandy for the purpose of choosing a bishop, which they did, their choice falling upon one Richard FitzNeal, the author of the " Dialogus de Scaccario." This man and his immediate successor were both stout upholders of the prerogatives of Canterbury, and had many tussles with the Archbishop of York when he came to London and would insist on having his primatial cross borne before him, a privilege to which he was, of course, only entitled in his own province. In 1196, Ralph de Diceto tells us that there were many disputes about the unfairness between the rich and poor in the matter of taxation until one, William FitzOsbert, caused a serious disturbance in the Cathedral. Getting the worst of matters, he fled into the tower of Bow Church, but being besieged there he set the place on fire and ended, as might be expected, by swinging at Tyburn. Such an event within its walls, desecration though it was, was as nothing compared with the wretched spectacle which St. Paul's witnessed a few years later when, in 1213, King John made his abject surrender of the kingdom to Pandulf, the Papal Legate. It is pleasant to change from this humiliating remembrance to see the Cathedral growing in magnificence, for, by 1221, the famous steeple was finished and preparations for the new quire com-

menced. The bishop's rights were also being consolidated, for in 1228 an agreement was made by Eustace de Fauconberg, Bishop and Lord High Treasurer of England, by which his " soke," or place of jurisdiction, was rendered exempt from the visits of the sheriffs or bailiffs of the Corporation, except for the collection of the king's dues and on other special occasions. A more popular bishop followed in the person of Roger Niger, the black, popular in that he was strongly pro-English, and, as Dean Milman tells us, more than once excommunicated the usurers in his diocese. This national sentiment was gradually gathering force since the increased interference of the Pope in the country, due to John's fatal move and the unwise preference of Henry III for foreigners. It is shown by the experience of Cincio, an Italian canon of St. Paul's, who, in 1231, was severely handled near St. Albans solely because he was a foreigner ; and yet he came off better than another canon of the same nationality who, some thirty years later, lost his life for the same reason. Roger, no doubt, was also acclaimed for his rescue of Hubert de Burgh, a strong upholder of England for the English, when the famous justiciar had fallen into disgrace and was dragged by the king's men from the sanctuary which he had taken in a church. Nor did this bishop forget to make efforts to improve the fortunes of his parochial clergy. The local churches seem at this time to have been very poor, the parsons getting their support only from such precarious sources as offerings and fees for marriages and burials, a state of things which the bishop remedied by coming to an arrangement with the



HANGING LAMPCHAIN

citizens whereby each Sunday, and on certain special feast days, they should pay to the clergy one farthing upon each ten shillings' worth of their rent. This arrangement of tithing, subject to minor alterations in succeeding centuries, has continued to the present day in respect of those churches which escaped the Great Fire, the main change in modern times being that it is commuted with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for a definite sum of money. Upon his death, therefore, Roger Niger left many friends to mourn him and in due course he was canonized with a festival, September 29th, and a tomb which for long attracted many pilgrims and admirers.

Throughout this period the Dean and Chapter continue to take up a strongly patriotic attitude, and maintained their traditional attempts at partial independence of the See of Canterbury. In the first place, we learn from the Victoria County History

A. Hester

THE DOME AND WESTERN TOWERS

GLORY TO GOD IN THE

that they had not long before worsted the king over the case of Ranulf le Breton, their treasurer. He had incurred the displeasure of Henry, who proceeded to accuse him of treason and throw him into the Tower. The canons, considering this to be an infringement of their rights, demanded his release and were backed by the dean, who, in the absence of the bishop, excommunicated Ranulf's captors and put the Cathedral under an interdict. The king stood firm and it required the bishop to threaten an extension of the interdict before Henry gave the treasurer a conditional freedom. Even this, however, did not satisfy the indignant canons, who demanded, and in the end obtained, his complete release. Again, in the matter of a successor to Roger, they successfully ran counter to the royal wishes by electing Fulk Bassett, the Dean of York. It is true the king had his revenge by delaying his consecration for some three years, but the recalcitrant Chapter in the end gained the day and a charter in addition confirming various liberties. It then fell to Fulk's lot to vindicate the rights of London versus Canterbury, for, in 1249, Archbishop Boniface informed the canons that he proposed to hold a "visitation" of St. Paul's. Up in arms directly were the Dean and Chapter, asserting that their own bishop was their visitor, and that the archbishop had never done such a thing before. Probably they did not forget that the metropolitan was a hated foreigner from Savoy. On the other hand the haughty Boniface was not one to allow such a claim to stand and ordered his servants to force an entrance into the Cathedral. T. Wykes, in

his "Annales Monastici" Vol. IV, says that, overcoming the canons, although not without some casualties, and bursting into the building, he found it empty—everything shut up and no preparation made to receive the visitor—whereupon he forthwith excommunicated the Dean and Chapter. A more or less fruitless appeal to Rome ended in their submission, and we learn from Wilkins's "Concilia," Vol. I, p. 758, that about ten years later they came to an agreement whereby the Archbishop should only be able to "visit" when the See was vacant. It need hardly be said that the Bishop of London was, of course, found on the opposite side to the king during the Barons' War, and that 1258 saw him one of the signatories to the Provisions of Oxford. Consequently, when on the death of Simon de Montfort the fortunes of the king finally became in the ascendant, the then bishop, Henry de Sandwich, found himself, with some fellow-prelates, solemnly excommunicated, and that it required a stay of six years in Rome before he could obtain his pardon. Meanwhile Cardinal Ottobon came to St. Paul's in 1268, and therein promulgated his famous Constitutions based on but enlarging those of Otho some thirty years earlier, which formed the basis of the Church's Canon Law more or less up to the time of the Reformation.

Turning to smaller matters for a moment, we come to a strange agreement in 1275, whereby Sir Walter le Baud, Kt., in return for permission to impark certain land belonging to the Dean and Chapter, undertook to provide them every year with a doe on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul (Jan-

uary 25th), and a buck on that of his Commemoration (June 30th). The latter gift was made the occasion for a kind of Saturnalia, for a special service was held in which the buck was carried in procession accompanied by much blowing of trumpets and by the canons wearing wreaths of flowers on their heads! It is rather surprising to find that this somewhat pagan ceremony was kept up so late as the reign of Elizabeth. As a counterblast to this apparent extravagance, for presumably they feasted well upon the buck afterwards, there stands the figure of Bishop Richard of Gravesend, who, being of a careful disposition, is said to have died worth £3,000, a most prodigious sum for those times, with a list of property, according to Dean Milman, filling a roll many feet long! In his day the king allowed the precincts to be surrounded with a wall on account of the robbers and other bad characters who infested the place, for they had no respect of persons or parsons, as one of the minor canons, Sir Nicholas Husbonde, found to his cost while living in Sarmouneris (Sermon) Lane. So much so that Dr. Simpson says he was given some ground nearer the Cathedral where he might build a house and have a *viridarium*, or garden. Has there ever been a time when an Englishman did not want to have somewhere to grow flowers? Evil people, however, made another use of the Cathedral at times, for, in 1289, on the Feast of St. George (April 23rd), as Mr. H. T. Riley relates, one Walter Bacun, a chaplain, took sanctuary in St. Paul's. It seems that he had stolen sixteen silver dishes from a certain Baroncin, a wealthy moneylender of Lucca, but apparently he

had been unable to make off with his booty, for the dishes had been recovered, and he himself pursued to the church by the coroner for the purpose of being compelled to confess his misdeed. This bad example from the ranks of the clergy seems to have been symptomatic of the century which followed, wherein the moral and religious standards fell very low. Brawling and even deaths occurred in the Cathedral, and the clergy, not being patterns of good themselves, could hardly complain of assaults by the laity, but nevertheless they contrived, in 1310, to get themselves taken under the special protection of the king. The building itself had also come into a state of disrepair, especially the tower, or belfry, and matters appear to have become urgent, judging from the appeals sent out broadcast to the clergy of the diocese. But things were not always unseemly in the Cathedral, for, in 1312, Queen Isabella gave birth to a son, the future Edward III, and a " cry was made throughout all the city to the effect that there was to be no work, labour or business in shop on that day, but that every one was to apparel himself in the most honourable manner that he could and . . . go with the Mayor . . . to St. Paul's, there to make praise and offering to the honour of God . . . and to show respect for this child which had been born . . . and after Mass they led carols in the Church of St. Paul to the sound of trumpets and then returned each to his house." In this same year, however, a knight was killed during the early service, which necessitated a special " reconciliation " of the Cathedral ; and five years later the city found itself under an interdict from the Archbishop of Canterbury

because his prerogative had again been infringed by his brother of York, who had been received in London with his primatial cross raised before him. Worse happenings, however, were unfortunately to take place, for, in 1326, at the instigation, it is said, of Queen Isabella, Walter de Stapledon, the Bishop of Exeter and Lord High Treasurer, was mobbed outside the north door of St. Paul's and killed in Cheapside. The canons brought the body into the Cathedral for the night and next day took it to the church of St. Clement Danes, where the rector declined to give it burial for some reason that we do not know, so that they were obliged to fall back upon the disused church of the Holy Innocents near at hand. The tale of violence still continues, for in the next year there was a quarrel over the question of who should occupy the prebendal stall of Brondesbury, then vacant. Again we seem to see the Englishman versus the foreigner, for Richard de Brenchesle had just come into occupation when John de Paiz, armed with a letter from the Pope and accompanied by friends, came in one day and finding Richard's vicar, one Thomas de St. Albans, sitting therein, threw him out of the stall and assaulted him to the extent of drawing blood. Again the church is under an interdict for a few days, and then it is found that there is not enough holy water for the necessary "reconciliation," whereupon Peter Corbanensis, a friar minor and the bishop suffragan whom we have met before, is called in to consecrate more water and excommunicate the offenders. It is perhaps a little significant that St. Paul's was entitled to use a particular form of

"reconciliation" specially granted by the Pope! By 1339 there is a new bishop, Richard de Bentworth, who, as one of his first acts, dedicated the new high altar to St. Paul with an altar on the north to King Ethelbert and another on the south to St. Mellitus. Not only so, but a new ball and cross on the steeple, which were to replace the older damaged ones, were loaded with relics as a protection against fire and put in position with much ceremony. This proceeding later on afforded a fine handle to the Reformers who were not slow to seize on the inefficacy of these relics as proved by several subsequent fires. In the time of Ralph de Stratford, Bentworth's successor, the Plague was so exceedingly bad in London that the churchyards became filled; and Ralph therefore purchased at Smithfield a piece of land called "No Man's Land" which "afterwards proved Everyman's land," as it was used for burials in general.

And now there appeared upon the scene he who has been called the "Morning Star of the Reformation"—John Wyclif. He was making his mark by attacking the existing abuses in religion, the unreasonable and superstitious legends of the Church, the power and wealth of the clergy which choked their spiritual fruitfulness and, as a strong nationalist, the worldliness and high claims of the Pope. The sequel to all this was a summons to appear in St. Paul's before the Archbishop and Bishop Courtenay on a charge of heresy. Wyclif duly appeared in 1378 supported by John of Gaunt for political reasons, but his examination was not even begun. The press of people was tremendous and Lord

Percy, the Earl Marshal, gave orders to clear a space. High words ensued between the bishop, the duke, and the earl, the people sided with their bishop, and had it not been for his intervention would have maltreated the haughty lords even though they were in God's house. From there the mob went to the duke's palace in riot, and it meant fleeing for his life until the angry populace could be pacified or it would be the worse for him. That Wyclif's strictures upon the clergy were true to a great extent it is impossible to deny, and no better proof can be shown than the fact that we actually find the king had written in 1371 to the bishop pointing out the many abuses in the Cathedral and requiring them to be amended. The abuses indeed were patent. The clergy dissolute and trafficking in the exchange of benefices by which they got the nickname from the Archbishop himself of " choppe-churches," the building decayed and neglected, windows broken by stones thrown at the pigeons, stalls erected for marketing, and even the game of fives permitted within the church ; these were but a few of the more obvious defects. Even the capitular brewery and bakehouse were not fulfilling their proper purpose, to the detriment of the non-residentiary canons. Courtenay seems to have paid little heed to this complaint, and it was left to Bishop Braybroke to endeavour a remedy by enforcing order and reviving the neglected observance of the respective feasts of St. Paul and St. Erkenwald. His difficulties, however, were great, and it is to be feared that his efforts were not really permanent. In 1382, just after he had come to the diocese, there happened the great earthquake which

was felt especially severely in the south-east of England and seriously damaged Paul's Cross. Of course men looked upon the visitation as a warning from Heaven, and with the low moral and religious standards prevailing in their own city before their very eyes such an idea would not be unwarranted.

> For so this was a Lord to drede,
> So sodeynly mad mon agast,

as T. Wright quotes in his " Political Poems."

A few documents about this time, revealed by the Historical MSS. Commission Report, throw a curious sidelight upon the Convent of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. The Dean and Chapter, whose Peculiar it was, were the visitors by virtue of the fact that they had owned an earlier church upon the site, but c.1212 had given one William, son of William the Goldsmith, permission to found the nunnery there. In 1385 we hear of the unhappy case of one of the nuns, Joan Heyron, who, on account of gout in hands and feet, was unable to perform her duties and had therefore been imprisoned by the prioress. The Dean and Chapter, on finding it out, ordered her release and moved the Pope to arrange a pension for her. Three years later the Chapter have to take an opposite course, and are obliged to excommunicate a nun, of the suggestive name Jocosa, for breaking her vow by leaving the convent and getting married. A later but undated visitation gives some amusing injunctions to the nuns, among others, that they are not to sing the services of " Placebo " and " Dirige " (i.e. in commemoration of the departed) so fast and must make proper pauses ! They are not to kiss secular persons, and

Macmillan & Co.

JOHN COLET

Mutati, dicebant esse Deum.

the prioress is to get rid of her many dogs and be content with one or two! That Bishop Braybroke's efforts at reform had not met with much result is shown by a proclamation by the king in 1411, "That no manere man ne child of what estate or condicioun that he be, be so hardy to wrestell or make ony wrestlyng within the Seintuary ne the boundes of Poules." Nevertheless it would seem that as the century wore on the standard of the clergy did tend to improve, due in some measure perhaps to the remodelled tithe system of Roger Niger, which was improving the value of city livings, and in greater measure probably to the pressure and criticism of public opinion. In connexion with Braybroke, who was buried in the crypt in 1404, we have a strange story told us by Cole in his MS. 5833 in the British Museum. From this it appears that his corpse was dug up during the excavations after the Great Fire and found to be complete and well preserved. Cole, who saw it in 1675, says that it can only have weighed eight or nine pounds, that the head remained firm on the neck, and the whole body hard and stiff for some two or three years. During that time he examined it more than once, but could find no traces of embalming although he "prized very narrowly about it."

It has already been mentioned that there were processions of the mayor and aldermen to St. Paul's on most of the important Church festivals, especially Whit-Sunday. The custom was for them to meet at the Church of St. Peter upon Cornhill and from there to proceed accompanied by the rectors of that church, St. Magnus the Martyr and St. Nicolas Cole

Abbey. These three churches were always agitating as to which should walk in the place of honour, namely last in the procession just before the mayor, and it was at length decided in 1417 that the rector of St. Peter's should have the privilege on the ground that his was the oldest foundation. At the same time it must be remembered that the tradition of its having been founded by King Lucius, even before the Cathedral itself, is a pure invention. Just in passing it may be of interest to note that during these few years Richard Clifford, London's bishop, was representing the English Church at the famous Seventeenth General Council of Constance. During the middle of this century Dean Milman shows that the Cathedral saw many varied happenings. First, in 1443, the Grey Friars' Chronicler relates that a great wind "blewe down the weddercoke of Powlles stepulle" and in 1445, at Candlemas, there was "gret thunder and tempest, that Powlles stepulle on the south-west syde mervelusly was sett a fyer." It will be noticed that by now the former ball and cross has been supplanted by a weathercock, of which a great fuss was always being made. From such events we go on to the curious case of Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester and afterwards of St. Asaph, whose opinions had the misfortune to please neither Churchmen nor Lollards. On the one hand he was ready to defend the practices of the clergy of his day although, as we have seen, such practices involved many serious abuses; and on the other, in matters doctrinal, he offended the orthodox by his denial of all authority to the Scriptures when they came in conflict with man's natural

reason. The result was that in 1457 he was " apeched of dyvers poynttes of eryses " and, although he escaped the stake at the expense of his books and of a humiliating recantation, he ended his life in prison. There then followed on the disastrous Wars of the Roses with all their misery and bitter hatred between the various noble families. In 1458 came the king to St. Paul's, surrounded by both Yorkists and Lancastrians, who gave but lip-service to the hollow peace then supposed to be made between them. Two years later he came again, this time as a Yorkist prisoner; the next year Edward IV is crowned king; in 1471 the dead body of Warwick, the " King-maker," from Barnet field, lies exposed to the public gaze, and the last chapter in this deadly feud ends with the Cathedral doors opening to receive, though not for burial, the murdered corpse of the feeble, if saintly, king. Not that the tale of bloodshed is yet completed for, after the short breathing space of Edward's reign, murder and civil war, with Richard III as the evil genius, again rear their heads ; and it is not until Henry of Richmond brings his three standards of St. George, of Cadwallader's " red fierye dragon beaton upon white and green sarcenet," and of a " Dun Cow " as Dugdale has it, and places them in St. Paul's after his victory of Bosworth Field, that the brutality of the Middle Ages more or less ceases, and in the peace of exhaustion that ensued is vouchsafed the dawn of modern times.

Henry VII, of course, by his marriage with Elizabeth of York gathered up in himself the respective ambitions of the rival parties. The late

Civil War had practically obliterated the old aristocracy and, with the coming of Renaissance and Reformation, new ideas pervaded men's thoughts, so that from now the apparently inevitable and eternal struggles of man with man were to be threshed out more in the realm of the spirit than by the appeal to mere physical force. This change which was thus coming about applied as yet mainly to the world of politics, for in matters of religion the old régime still obtained with all its mediaeval accretions. But that it had lost the respect of the people was becoming abundantly clear. Worldliness and dissipation among the clergy, and scandalous appointments, such as that of the Spanish Ambassador to the Archdeaconry of London, in 1502, led to complaints from the better-minded laity, and to contempt for the sacred buildings from men of coarser mould. Indeed, the profanation of St. Paul's at the beginning of the sixteenth century was a byword far and near. Contemporary literature abounds in allusions to it, more especially in connexion with the nave, which earned the sobriquet of "Paul's Walk," and Bishop Pilkington says "The South Alley for Usurye and Poperye, the North for Simony and the Horse fair, in the middest for all kind of bargains, meetinges, brawlinges, murthurs, conspiracies, and the Font for ordinary paimentes of money are so well knowen to all menne as the begger knowes his dishe." Bishop Earle, in his "Microcosmography," is even more outspoken, and although we may charitably hope that there was some exaggeration in these accounts, still from what we have already seen we must feel that they are probably not so very far

past the mark. However, this time a dean, in the person of John Colet, rose up and endeavoured to cleanse the Augean stable. A man of most upright and austere life, a scholar and friend of Erasmus, he, too, was imbued with new thoughts and aspirations. His visit with his friend to Canterbury shows us his opinion of the prevailing superstition and his suspicions as to the authenticity of Becket's relics. In his own Cathedral he at once set about to try and reform the many abuses which he found, but the long-established negligence and the natural dislike of the canons to be disturbed proved too much even for him to move. More especially was this so because he did not receive the support he had a right to expect from Bishop FitzJames, indeed he met with opposition, for the old man laid Articles against him for heresy before Archbishop Warham. The latter, however, was far too well aware of that for which Colet stood, and treated the Articles of FitzJames with the contempt that they deserved. In 1506 Colet issued fresh statutes for the Cathedral, enjoining greater reverence and punctuality at the services and making the Saturday or disciplinary Chapter a real force, together with many other admirable reforms, but without the co-operation of his Chapter they could not become other than a dead letter. Apart from this, however, he was one of the few to see that the great need of the day was education, and what a chance the Church had to use its wealth for the national good; and here it may be put to the credit of FitzJames, according to Vict. County Hist., that he, too, in company with Colet, was anxious to, and did, promote the better

education of the clergy by reviving the divinity lectures. To make good his opinion, Colet took over the old Grammar School of the Cathedral, refounded and endowed it, and settled it, in 1508–10, on its old site but in new buildings just to the east of St. Paul's. Mistrusting the capacity of the Chapter to rise to the occasion, Colet placed the management of his new foundation in the hands of the Mercers' Company, of which his father had been a liveryman, and so it has continued to this day, although this well-known school has now removed to Hammersmith. His scholars are referred to in 1545, when we are told of " alle the childrene of Powlles scole " attending a proclamation of universal peace in St. Paul's between our own King Henry VIII, the Emperor, and the King of France.

Even in its profanation, however, the Cathedral witnessed some splendid scenes when, e.g. in 1500, came Catharine of Aragon to wed in the following year Henry's son Prince Arthur. She was greeted with pageants throughout the city and was lodged in the bishop's palace for the occasion. Special preparations were made in the Cathedral, which was hung for its whole length with tapestries, the magnificent ceremony being carried through in the presence of the king and queen, the Archbishop, many bishops, and others. Some few years later we get a rather amusing account from the Venetian Ambassador Badoer, of the investiture of Henry VIII in St. Paul's with the Sword and Cap of Maintenance sent as complimentary gifts by the Pope. The sword presented no difficulty, but it appears that the cap, when put on his head, was so large that on walking

away it slipped down and completely covered Henry's face ! In view of this the ambassador feels obliged to point out in his dispatch that these articles were merely " emblematical " ! The same eye-witness attended another grand function here in 1518, when a wonderful array of legates and cardinals in the persons of Wolsey and Campeggio, ambassadors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and many bishops and nobles came together to ratify " eternal " (*sic*) peace between England, France, the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain. Something of a mockery we know as far as Europe was concerned, for there could be no hope of peace amid the rivalry of Francis I of France and Charles V the Emperor. It was at this time, too, with Wolsey as legate, that St. Paul's lost one of its ancient privileges. Hitherto it had been the custom for all the Convocations of the Southern Province to be held in this Cathedral, but Wolsey, thinking more of his own convenience, his London palace, York House, being in Whitehall, ordered the holding of Convocation in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey. The only relics of the privilege left to St. Paul's are that Convocation meets here for the Latin service and sermon and to elect the Prolocutor of the Lower House ; this done, all adjourn to Westminster accompanied by the verger of the dean of St. Paul's, who is *ex officio* the *ostiarius*, or doorkeeper, during the session. Hence came the neat satire of Skelton :

> Gentle Paul, lay down thy sword
> For Peter of Westminster hath shaved thy beard !

In 1519 there came to St. Paul's as dean a rather remarkable man, one Richard Pace. The Cathedral,

it must be confessed, saw little of him, for his talents lay in diplomacy, for which he was employed for many years both by Henry VIII and Wolsey. Few men were better known or more liked throughout the Courts of Europe, and no delicate mission of intrigue, such as an attempt to get the imperial crown for Henry or the papal tiara for his great minister, could be attempted without the dean. He did much good work at Venice, where he was immensely popular, and it is sad to think that in the end this man of singular capacity and charm of manner returned home to end his days as a lunatic. At this time the perennial question of Roger Niger's tithe came again to the fore. The arrangement had been adapted and expanded more than once until, in 1536, the proportion to be paid was settled at 2s. 10d. in the pound. Although this reduced the amount due to the clergy, they complained greatly ten years later of the fraud and evasion used to avoid payment.

And now it is that the Reformation has at last come down from the realm of thought to that of hard fact. Wriothesley's Chronicle tells us that at the Convocation in 1536 the parties of the old and new régimes, headed by the Archbishops of York and Canterbury respectively, were openly arrayed against each other, and two years later, on the order of Cromwell about "ymages in Powlles," was "the Rood of Northor and Saynt Unckumber that stode in Polles many yeris takyn down and our lady of Grace yt had stond in Polles many yers." Not yet had come the suppression of the Mass vestments or of incense, but a significant act is the order of

Henry, in 1538, that " one book of the whole Bible in English in the largest volume " should be set up in churches, and in due course Bishop Bonner furnished St. Paul's with six copies for everybody to read. The next year a magnificent requiem service was held for Isabella of Portugal, wife of the Emperor Charles V. The Cathedral was hung with black decorated with coats of arms, and those present included the Lord Chancellor as representing the king, both archbishops, and many bishops, ambassadors, and nobility, who, after the service, retired " into Our Lady Chappell behind St. Ekinwalde's Shryne where they had brought them spyces and wine " !

Owing to their being secular canons the property of the Chapter was not confiscated like that of the monasteries, but as we have seen there was no escaping the attention of Henry VIII in the matter of plate and valuables. The accession of Edward VI ushered in, mainly for political reasons as we know, a more extreme form of Protestantism. His letter of 1550 ordering the removal of altars and the substitution of a table was rendered to a great extent nugatory by the fact that some clergy used the new thing as an altar, others really as a table, and Heylyn tells us that Ridley, Bishop of London, got over the difficulty by breaking down the wall " standing on the back side of the Altar . . . for an Example to the rest." The Grey Friars' Chronicle laconically but clearly tells the march of events. In 1548, " after Ester beganne the servis in Ynglyche at Powles," all chantries had been suppressed and " alle goyng abrode of processyons and sensyng at Powlles at

Wytsontyde" ; a great deal of preaching about the Sacrament of the Altar was the order of the day, " and so was moche controversy and moche besynes in Powlles every Sonday." The next year Archbishop Cranmer celebrated in the Cathedral in a cope, " but no vestment nor mytter nor crosse but a crose staffe . . . and hys sattene cappe on hys hede alle the tyme of the offes." Sandwiched in between comes the astonishing divorce from his wife in St. Paul's of the Bishop of Winchester, John Ponet, and then in 1551–2, " the grattes " (railings) " besyde the hye alter in Powlles closyd up that the pepulle shulde not loke in at the tyme of the communyone tyme." The playing of the organ was stopped, while on All Saints' Day, 1552, Nicholas Ridley " began the boke of the new servis of bred and wyne in Powlles," celebrating in his rochet. Amid all the turmoil and changes it is pleasant to find Ridley struggling with success by means of a sermon to induce the king to give up his palace of Bridewell, turn it into a house for vagrants, and endow it, somewhat inadequately, from the funds of the old hospital of St. John the Baptist in the Savoy.

Then came the turn of the tide, and St. Paul's had the melancholy privilege of supplying, in John Rogers, one of her prebendaries and the successor to Tyndale in his work of the translation of the Bible into English, the first victim of Queen Mary's persecutions. Now came Cardinal Pole, the papal legate, to put back the clock in matters ecclesiastical, and Philip and Mary attending at St. Paul's in state. At their coming, as in the case of an earlier visit by

Edward VI on his accession, a curious acrobatic feat was provided for their entertainment in the form of a rope hung from the steeple of the Cathedral down which a man slid to the ground. No doubt it was partly intended to show the pride of the citizens in the dizzy height of their famous spire.

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL JUST BEFORE 1561
(*Society of Antiquaries*)

Again the scene changes, and in 1559 behold Elizabeth's Commissioners removing contumacious prebendaries, forbidding the use of vestments, and consigning Bishop Bonner to the Marshalsea prison. But scarcely had the new staff got into the saddle with the ultra-moderate but popular Edmund Grindal as bishop, and the learned Alexander

Nowell, main author of the Catechism, as dean, than the calamitous fire of 1561 burst upon them. Several contemporary accounts, discovered and quoted by Dr. Simpson, give many details, suffice it here to say that the ruin was very serious. The cherished steeple, weathercock and all, was gone, and services had to be held in the little church of St. Gregory at the western end of the Cathedral. Modern writers have come to the conclusion that lightning, as so often before, was probably the cause of the damage, and not the plumbers as suggested by Fuller and others. It was generally considered to be a judgment from Heaven by both sides, and it may well have been, although not for the reason they supposed, for over and above all questions of party we have seen how disgracefully the building had been treated for many a long year past. Nor was there any "reformation" of the scandal to be found at this period. Tale-bearing and gossip still found here many retailers and more listeners; here, too, was the serving man's pillar where such could be found and engaged, and the "Si quis" door for secular notices of all kinds; and indeed so much of a thoroughfare had the Cathedral become with people carrying merchandise, and even leading horses and cattle through it, that in 1554 the lord mayor was obliged to intervene and forbid such profanation. Elizabeth also issued proclamations against it, but they were of little avail, and surely this is not a matter for wonder, for the canons apparently raised no objection to, and took no steps to prohibit, these goings on, and who had a greater responsibility than they? Nor is it surprising to find that the work of repair after

the fire progressed very slowly, for who at that time can have really cared enough about the building to make any effort at restoration? The Puritan feeling was stronger in London than elsewhere, as had been the case also with Lollardism years before, and there was less and less respect shown for the bishops. Aylmer, who, as Fuller says, was "of low stature but stout spirit," was mean and not over popular, and got into litigation over cutting some elm trees at Fulham. Whereupon some wag said, "Your name is Elmar and you have marred all the elms at Fulham by lopping them," and then to drive home the little thrust, he went on to say that if his lordship were translated to Ely, as it was known he wished to be, his name would then be "Elymar"! The bishop was, however, quite able to hold his own, as was shown by his sharp but dignified rebuke to the lord mayor for his unfair treatment of some of the clergy. His successor, Richard Fletcher, died after only two years' tenure of the See, during which time, by marrying a widow, he contrived to offend the queen to the extent that she dismissed him from Court, for married clergy were anathema to Elizabeth. His death was very sudden at the end, and so a little epitaph was written for him:

Here lies the first prelate made Christendom see
A bishop a husband unto a ladye;
The cause of his death was secret and hid
He cried out, "I dye!" and ev'n so he did.

The century closes with complaints of indiscipline still facing the canons. The boys that are being taught at St. Gregory's are said to be "unruly and threaten," while there is the greatest difficulty in

getting beggars out of the Cathedral. On the other hand the Chapter was still disputing successfully the right of the civic authorities to make arrests within the precincts, and even went so far as to take out a summons against the lord mayor for carrying his sword of state in St. Paul's. In 1602 it at last dawned upon them that to shut the north and south doors during service might partly alleviate the scandal of the thoroughfare, but, sad to say, it had to be left to laymen, Attorney-General Noy and Dr. Rives, to issue a report in 1631 upon the continued profanation of the Cathedral. In it they very justly laid the blame for the evils of "Paul's Walk," to the letting of a vault under the Chapter House as a cellar to mine host of the Green Dragon Inn hard by, and the rest upon the negligence and worse of the Dean and Chapter. Next year, therefore, the king was compelled to issue orders correcting the abuses. Meanwhile the year 1606 saw the execution of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators outside the west door, and nine years later the establishment by Dr. Ratcliffe, of Gray's Inn, of a fund to pay such scholars of Oxford and Cambridge "as shall willingly bestow their paines in preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ at St. Paul's Cross." These have been already referred to (p. 124). At the instance of the lord mayor and aldermen they were also offered five days' lodging with fire, candle, and all accessories. About this time, also, thanks to the exertions of one Henry Farley, a more serious effort was made to repair the dilapidated Cathedral. He induced King James to come, in 1620, to see the state of affairs for himself and to listen to an eloquent

sermon on the subject at Paul's Cross. The diptych in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries (illus. opp. p. 24) shows the scene, with the Court sitting in the open gallery at the back and houses on the right built up against the church belching forth smoke, with an inscription omitted from the engraving :

> Viewe, O King ; howe my walles creepers
> Have made me worke for chimney-sweepers.

Dean Overall, best known for his Convocation Book of Canons, which, however, were never ratified by the Crown, and for his share in the Church Catechism, amending Nowell's work and adding the Sacramental portion himself, had not been able to do much for the Cathedral, and it was left to Bishop Laud and Dean Donne to make a real move with the work. Laud subscribed much from his private purse and persuaded the king to do likewise, as also for this purpose to earmark for ten years the proceeds of ecclesiastical fines, whence came the saying that St. Paul's was restored out of the sins of the people. Apropos of this effort, Mr. E. A. Adair, of University College, London, has kindly sent the writer an excerpt from Lansdowne MS. 238, ff. 160b–161 as follows :

On the Building of Paules

Paule, why to Caesar dost thou thus appeale
  Or tell the Cittie thy distresses ?
Since with Christ's name thou didst so hardly deale
  Justly thy ruines thee oppresses.
Taxe not the holy man without desert
  Smarting for Christ in every quarter
Saule was his enemie, but Paule convert
  Adher'd to Christ, and dy'd His martyr.

Paule was convert I needes must say
And therefore to be helpt by king and people
Let each man then his money pay
And lend a hand to build the steeple.
But heeres our feare, when coyne and wee are parted
Our money too with Paule may be converted.

Corbet, the amusing bishop of Norwich, also aided with money and urged his clergy to do what they could in a typical exhortation. "Saint Paul's Church! One word in the behalf of Saint Paul; he hath spoken many in ours; he hath raised our inward temples. Let us help to requite him in his outward . . . "; further on he says, "St. Paul complained of stoning twice; his church of firing; stoning she wants, indeed, and a good stoning would repair her," and so on. From this time dates the work of Inigo Jones, whose fine but incongruous façades to western end and transepts may be seen in illus. opp. p. 49, and all the internal decoration of the Cathedral, which was done at the cost of Sir Paul Pindar. Laud's efforts, as might be expected, were not confined to the mere rebuilding of the church, and he made Jeremy Taylor, the well-known author of "Holy Living" and "Holy Dying," divinity lecturer, one of the few men who followed in Archbishop Parker's footsteps by upholding the true Anglican position midway between Rome and Puritanism. In 1636 Laud announced his intention of "visiting" the Cathedral as metropolitan. The Dean and Chapter protested that they had never so been visited—it was no doubt convenient to forget the outcome of their struggle with Boniface (p. 201)—but the king would have none of it, saying

that the Cathedral was the proper place at which to start, and declining to make any exemption in their favour. Before going any further, just a word or two must be said of John Donne, a most curious character, whose queer monument we have already seen in the south quire aisle. He started in life as secretary to Sir Thomas Egerton, afterwards Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, and secretly married his daughter, for which presumption the enraged father sent Donne to prison to scrawl upon the walls in his unhappiness, "John Donne, Ann Donne, Undone." A travelled man with a good knowledge of law and foreign languages, he ultimately turned to theology, having always had a wish, as he said, that he might "Dye in the Pulpit, if not, yet that he might take his Death from the Pulpit," for which his eloquence well fitted him.

The tale of St. Paul's during the Civil War and Commonwealth has often been related. Every one knows how that the canons were turned out, but their property, though sequestered, was for the most part kept intact, mainly owing to the acuteness of Dr. Burges, "That Revd. Presbydean of Paul's," who was afterwards allowed to lecture in the quire and get £400 a year for his work; and to whose only credit it may be said that he headed the petition of the London clergy against the beheading of the king. How, again, that the nave housed the troopers' horses:

> Then St. Paul's the Mother-Church of this City and Nation
> Was turned to a stable, O strange Profanation!
> Yet this was one of their best fruits of Reformation,
> Which nobody can deny.

One story, however, is almost certainly a falsehood, namely that which attributes a willingness on the part of Oliver Cromwell to sell the Cathedral to the Jews. Only one document, undated and unsigned, mentions it, and then only as a matter of hearsay.

At the Restoration, the condition of the Cathedral was pitiable and all that could be done was to fit up a part of the east end for services while plans for repair were being agitated. The dean at this time was John Barwick, sometime Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, who throughout the Civil War period seems to have led a most exciting life. While the king was alive Barwick acted as a link between the king and loyalists in London and elsewhere, and was responsible for distributing the royal notices. So clever was he that it took the Parliamentarians some eight years to get enough evidence on which to convict and imprison the future dean. Then, in 1665, came the terrible visitation of the Plague, when all who could fled from the pestilence, including Sir Christopher Wren, as we have already seen. In February, 1666, he returned, and was called upon to make a report upon the old building. Not unnaturally, the desire to save the famous Cathedral and restore on the old lines was still very strong, and Wren was asked, against his own personal inclination, to go carefully over the whole structure with this object in view. This he did and reported strongly against it. He goes into many details, unnecessary here, shows for example that the tower piers, 11 ft. in diameter, were 6 in. out of the perpendicular, and that their weakness was due not only to the fire but to their being cased with stone

while " within is nothing but a coar of small rubbish stone and much mortar wch. easily crushes and yields to ye weight." It is strange that this self-same method of building employed as a general rule by the Normans, and here criticized by Wren, is precisely that which was subsequently used by him himself, and which to-day is crushing and yielding as he only too truly said. If, however, repair, and repair only, had to be, then he suggests refacing " after a good Roman manner " and doing away with the narrowness of the Church by reducing the " middle part into a spacious Dome or Rotunda with a Cupola or hemispherical Roof, and upon the Cupola a Lantern with a spiring Top to rise proportionably," which he thought would be a very " proper place for a large auditory." Here we seem to get an echo of his uncle's Cathedral at Ely. Hardly, however, was the report before the Dean and Chapter than in September of this same year there swept over the unhappy city the calamity of the Great Fire, if calamity it can be called, for it is now easy to see that, in spite of the damage and horror that it caused, the clearing of the narrow plague-begetting streets and insanitary dwellings was in reality a blessing in disguise. Wren was then called upon for a further report and this, together with the account of the building itself, will be found in Chapter III. Bishop Compton, during whose long episcopate the work was carried out, was by his soundness, if not by any great learning, well fitted to supervise. He had been something of a soldier in his time and was not afraid to adopt a strong anti-Romanist attitude during the short reign of James II, even helping the

Princess Anne to escape from the Court by night and himself escorting her to the north. Brilliancy was rather to be found among the deans of this period, whose names include those of Sancroft, nonjuror and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; Stillingfleet, the theologian; and Tillotson, the eloquent preacher. Possibly it will interest the reader to be told that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which publishes this book, was founded the next year (1698) after the quire was dedicated and held its earlier meetings in the Chapter House. This building, contemporary with the Cathedral, lies at the north-west corner of the churchyard and is now let out as a club and secular offices. The wrought-iron balusters of the staircase are worth noting as being of very similar design to those in the south-west tower.

The opening years of the eighteenth century saw not only the completion of Wren's wonderful work but the era of many brilliant victories by sea and land, and so we find Queen Anne coming to the new Cathedral in state no less than seven times during her short reign, to join with her people in thanksgiving for mercies bestowed upon the country's arms. Excitement after the popish plots of her father's reign, and the subsequent fighting between the two parties, had not yet died down, and so the foolish rumour known as the "Screw Plot," circulated as it no doubt was for political reasons, was at the time believed by many. It was to the effect that before one of these state attendances of the queen, some persons were supposed to have been seen removing screws and bolts from the upper parts

of the building so that it might collapse and bury the Court beneath its ruins. The remainder of this century provides little of interest in the history of the Cathedral except in the way of monuments to men who fought and fell in wars during the latter part, for St. Paul's has always been, and still is, more especially connected with the "Services." Its first actual connexion with war was at its solemn consecration in 1697, which coincided with thanksgiving for the treaty of Ryswick between England, France, Holland, Spain, and Austria; but the century actually began with Marlborough's wars, and it was for such victories as Blenheim, Ramillies, and Oudenarde that the queen came to give thanks. The war with Spain in 1739, and known as that of the "Austrian Succession," and that with France in 1756 called the "Seven Years' War," produced victories but as yet no monuments; and it was not until Spain came into the arena again to support France in the attempt to break our naval supremacy that our sailors were given their chance, and on seeing Admiral Rodney's tomb we call to mind his brilliant work in the West Indies. But if peace was ultimately made in Paris in 1763, there was to be

HANGING LAMPCHAIN

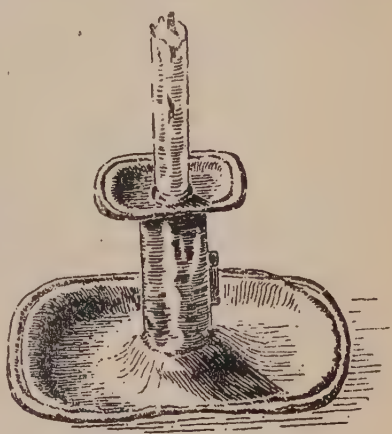
little rest for the British fighting man seeing that twelve years later there broke out the American War of Independence. Old foes like France and Spain took advantage of England's embarrassment to make yet another challenge to our lordship of the seas, and the tomb of the Marquis Cornwallis reminds us of the surrender of Yorktown, brought about by their interference with his supplies from England. Once more, however, the navy comes to the rescue, in 1782, with another victory by Rodney in the West Indies, and the figures of Lord Heathfield and Earl Howe remind us of the gallant defence and relief of Gibraltar. But there is no breathing space, and almost before the nation realized the peace brought in 1783 by the Treaty of Versailles, it found itself involved in war again with France as the result of the Revolution. The threat of Antwerp as a seaport and the Continental hatred of the English command of the sea were at the back of every movement. Howe's "Glorious First of June," in 1794, continued the naval tradition of success, but our loss of allies in north Europe threw a tremendous strain upon our sailors, on whom England's safety entirely depended. They responded nobly, however, in the battles of Camperdown and Cape St. Vincent, and the command of the Channel was preserved. With these two great victories are, and will be, always associated the names of Admirals Duncan and Jervis, whose monuments are here as a perpetual reminder. The rise of Napoleon Bonaparte makes no difference to the tale of success by sea, as the victories of the Nile and Copenhagen will show; while the tomb of General Abercrombie tells

us that his success at Aboukir in 1801 proved that the army, too, had come to itself again. It can hardly be necessary to go any further for the magic names of Nelson and Collingwood at Trafalgar, Wellington and Picton at Waterloo, Codrington securing the independence of Greece at Navarino. Lawrence in the Indian Mutiny, Gordon at Khartoum, Roberts and Kitchener in recent years : these and a host of others on the monuments around us call to mind the " old cold courage " of our race, and those whom nation and Church delight to honour. Nor should we forget that men equally well known in their own time were employed to portray them. In the early nineteenth century names of sculptors like Rossi, Westmacott, Flaxman, Bacon, Chantrey, may be seen, followed in later times by a veritable gallery of modern work, the quality of which is guaranteed by such craftsmen as Onslow Ford, Frampton, Goscombe John, Pomeroy, Brock, and Rodin.

It is, however, painful to remember that the record at home in matters ecclesiastical was in inverse ratio to the brilliancy displayed in arms. As Dean Milman says, his office throughout this time was looked upon as little more than a stepping-stone to a bishopric. King George II never once came to the Cathedral, and his successor but twice, although for how much was there cause for thanksgiving ! And yet, on the other hand, what would a visitor find at this house of God ? A building badly lighted and unwarmed, even to enter which required the payment of a fee, dirt all-pervading, the services perfunctory with no clergy present except the one

obliged to be on duty, and the conduct of everything slovenly and irreverent. In 1800, the solitary celebration on Easter Day was attended by but six communicants. St. Paul's was indeed well described at that time as "dirty uselessness." Mr. Russell makes it clear that to Archdeacon Hale must be credited the earliest stirring of the dry bones round about the year 1830, when the latter notes in his diary "irregularities" in the services and the bishop's request that he should consider how to reform the impropriety of the thirty prebendaries whose stalls brought them in large revenues for which they did nothing. The Finsbury Stall was known by its large income as the "Golden Prebend." By 1840 the archdeacon is really moving. Windows are being glazed, cartloads of dirt are removed, and he tries to warm the building by having a truck wheeled around full of red-hot coke! Apropos of this attempt it is interesting to note that, when a proper heating system was decided on, but a doubt arose as to the facilities for providing the necessary flues, it was found on inspection that certain shafts arranged by Wren for carrying off rain-water could be adapted for flues, and so the difficulty vanished. Even the outside public are complaining of the services, and that when they stay for the Holy Communion the minor canon pretends he does not know they are there and slips away after Mattins to avoid his further duty. Meanwhile the Archdeacon urged that the office of sub-dean should be made a reality, and that the old disciplinary Chapter on Saturdays should be revived, but this was perhaps to move too fast, and his suggestion remained

at that. In 1782 the custom had become settled of having an annual service here at which all the charity children in London attended. This meant the closing of the Cathedral for weeks beforehand while elaborate staging and galleries were put up, and as this interfered with the now improving services and worship, and caused great disturbance, it was ultimately abandoned. In 1852, Robert R. Green, the well-known verger of so admirable a character that it has been said of him that he ought to have "lived for ever," takes up the story also in a diary which now belongs to the Dean and Chapter. He tells us how he first began his duties at the Duke of Wellington's funeral, in November, 1852, when the bishop caught a severe cold in the unheated Cathedral with the thermometer near freezing point. Six years later the first special evening service under the dome was held. In 1868, on December 21st, took place the historic installation of the Rev. Robert Gregory, when on that dark afternoon after Evensong, owing to the other canons' dislike, and probable fear, of his reputation for energy and business, a little procession consisting only of Archdeacon Hale, the canon-elect and his family, headed



DEAN GREGORY'S CANDLESTICK

by Cummings, the dean's verger, carrying a tiny candlestick and guttering candle, passed into the quire. The service was quickly over, and with no kindly welcome from his fellow-workers Canon Gregory was duly installed in a chair, instead of in his proper seat, by the man who had laid the foundation for the wonderful and far-reaching reforms of the new-comer. The candlestick and candle are now preserved in the dean's vestry as a relic of times and happenings which, to present-day worshippers at the Cathedral, must appear almost inconceivable.

In 1869 there was put up for the first time over the altar a decoration consisting of an " Epiphany Star in red cloth worked in the centre in silver by Miss Hale and edged with silver Cape Everlastings," and on Easter Day in the same year the Dean and Chapter greatly daring ventured to put up a cross in place of the star and to decorate the building with " primroses and snowdrops in moss frames with a wreath of camellias round the edge at the top of the pulpit " ! These are the merest details of true Mid-Victorian flavour, but they do at least show that the tide had turned, that some interest in, and care for, the Cathedral was aroused, and we must go to Dean Gregory's " Autobiography " to understand the driving force which was bringing about something greater than decoration. He began by refusing to subscribe to the usual habit of holding a benefice with his canonry to show that he neither considered nor intended his office to be a sinecure. He then tackled the choir upon their bad attendance and slovenly behaviour, which at last brought about the

actual revival and continuance of the weekly disciplinary Chapter, and himself gave a standing practical illustration of his two great maxims, firstly that "whatever happens the Cathedral *must* come first," and secondly that "the secret of a place like this lies in punctuality." Everything, from personal service to building material, had to be of the very best, and these high standards very soon made their mark upon the whole life of the Cathedral, so that Archbishop Tait could afterwards publicly bear witness that St. Paul's was the only Cathedral which had voluntarily reformed itself without pressure from outside, and that such reformation was almost entirely due to Robert Gregory. That high ideals combined with persistence and firmness in putting them into practice could win respect and affection was nowhere better exemplified than in his case; and no more charming sight could be seen in London than the traffic held up regularly every day while the aged, white-haired dean punctually crossed from his house to fulfil his duty in the Cathedral.

The advent of Dr. Liddon also had a very great effect. His wonderful preaching attracted enormous congregations and, as Canon Scott Holland has told us, he reorganized the worship and "determined the tone and quality and order of all the liturgical developement." With these two reformers was their dean, Richard William Church, the "finest flower of the Anglican tradition" of churchmanship and scholarship. Small wonder then that life beat ever more and more energetically beneath the dome, and that the desert was made to "blossom abundantly and rejoice even with joy and singing." In 1871

St. Dunstan's Chapel was fitted up in proper fashion, for hitherto the slender congregations had knelt round a table in the middle; two years later the choral Eucharist became a settled institution on Sundays and saints' days, while four years later still a daily celebration was begun and has been ever since continued. Only two years before the font had been used for the first time for one hundred and sixty-two years! although it must in justice be pointed out that St. Paul's, not being a parish church, is not likely to be called upon very frequently for such a ceremony as baptism. For almost every other service, however, there is constant need and provision; such, for example, as Ordinations and Confirmations, each held about eight times a year, services for societies and guilds innumerable, retreats and quiet days in the Trophy Room, over and above the routine work of the daily services, and the special occasions of national importance. The judges used also to attend in state on the first Sunday of each of the four law terms, but this has now been cut down to the first Sunday in the Trinity Term only. Nor is the influence of St. Paul's exerted solely by means of worship. The existence of the St. Paul's Lecture Society, named after the Cathedral and holding its meetings there for religious study, and the Amen Court Gild for the benefit of men and boys working in the warehouses round about, both of which trace their origin back to 1871 but have been reconstituted in later days, show that the welfare of the mind as well as of the soul are recognized by the Dean and Chapter as part of their responsibilities.

So small a space as can be here afforded to the subject of this revival of St. Paul's must mean the omission, perforce, of a multitude of details, but any visitor who may be sufficiently interested and curious to go further into the matter will have no difficulty in finding abundant records of the wonderful change that has been wrought. Now, the whole ground floor east of the nave has been closed since March 31, 1925, for an indefinite period, perhaps six or seven years, to enable the necessary work of repair to be hurried on ; and it will be with mixed feelings that the visitor will now say, " Let us go to St. Paul's." None of the wonderful workmanship in marble, wood, and metal of the quire to be seen, the fine organ stilled and, as Canon Alexander says " the spring taken out of the year." But just as we know that, " while the earth remaineth," we look forward each year to the bursting forth of a new spring in all its beauty, so we may await with confidence and patience the day when St. Paul's, true to her motto " Resurgam," shall arise strengthened and freed from her anxiety to carry on the fulfilment of her work and press steadily " toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

MONUMENTS

As already pointed out, the Cathedral contains the graves or monuments of many famous men. Here are some short lists merely to give a little idea of those commemorated and honoured in this place.

WARS WITH FRANCE

Gen. Sir R. Abercromby (Egypt)
Lord Collingwood (Trafalgar)
Adm. Lord Duncan (Camperdown)
Gen. Lord Heathfield (Gibraltar)
Adm. Lord Howe (' First of June ')
Gen. Sir J. Moore (Corunna)
Gen. Sir Wm. F. P. Napier (Peninsular)
Lord Nelson
Gen. Sir T. Picton (Waterloo)
Adm Lord Rodney (West Indies)
Lord St. Vincent (Cape St. Vincent)
Duke of Wellington

INDIAN MUTINY

Sir Henry Lawrence (Lucknow)
Gen. Sir C. J. Napier (Scinde)
F.M. Sir Evelyn Wood, V.C.

PAINTERS, Etc.

Edward Abbey, R.A.
Sir L. Alma-Tadema, R.A.
Randolph Caldecott
C. R. Cockerell, R.A. (Surveyor to Cathedral).
George Cruikshank
John H. Foley, R.A.
Frank M. Holl, R.A.
W. Holman Hunt, O.M.
Sir E. Landseer, R.A.
Sir Thos. Lawrence, P.R.A.
Lord Leighton, P.R.A.
Sir J. E. Millais, P.R.A.
Robert Mylne (Surveyor to Cathedral for 45 years)
John Opie, R.A.
W. A. Orchardson, R.A.
F. C. Penrose, F.S.A. (Surveyor to Cathedral)
Sir E. J. Poynter, P.R.A.
John Rennie (London and Waterloo Bridges)
Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.
J. M. W. Turner, R.A.
Benjamin West, P.R.A.

MUSICIANS

Thomas Attwood
William Boyce, Mus.Doc.
Sir John Goss, Mus.Doc.
Maurice Greene, Mus.Doc.
Sir G. C. Martin, Mus.Doc.
Sir Hubert Parry, Mus.Doc
Sir John Stainer, Mus.Doc
Sir A. Sullivan, Mus.Doc.

ECCLESIASTICS

C. J. Blomfield (Bishop)
Piers Claughton (Bishop)
Mandell Creighton (Bishop)
John Donne (Dean)
Robert Gregory (Dean)
Reginald Heber (Bishop)
H. Scott Holland (Canon)
John Jackson (Bishop)
H. Parry Liddon (Canon)
H. H. Milman (Dean)
F. Temple (Archbishop)

WREN FAMILY

Sir Christopher Wren
Constantia M. B. Wren
Jane Wren
Maria Wren
W. and Susan Holder

GENERAL HEADING

Adm. Lord C. Beresford (*Condor*)
Sir Walter Besant (Author)
Rt. Hon. Charles Booth (Sociologist)
Sir Astley Cooper (Surgeon)
Lord Cornwallis (America and India)
Archibald Forbes (War Correspondent)
Sir H. Bartle Frere (South Africa)
Gen. C. G. Gordon (Khartoum)
Maria Hackett (Benefactress)
Henry Hallam (Historian)
W. E. Henley (Poet)
John Howard (Philanthropist)
Sir W. Huggins (Astronomer)
Samuel Johnson (Man of Letters)
Sir W. Jones (Oriental Scholar)
F.M. Earl Kitchener (Khartoum)
Viscount Melbourne (Prime Minister)
F.M. Lord Napier (Magdala)
Florence Nightingale, O.M.
Charles Reade (Author)
F.M. Lord Roberts (Kandahar)
Capt. Percy Scott (Explorer)
Gen. Sir Herbert Stewart (Soudan)
F.M. Sir H. Wilson
F.M. Viscount Wolseley

Interest will be felt in the bust of George Washington; in the monument to the officers and men of H.M.S. *Captain*, and in the many regimental monuments.

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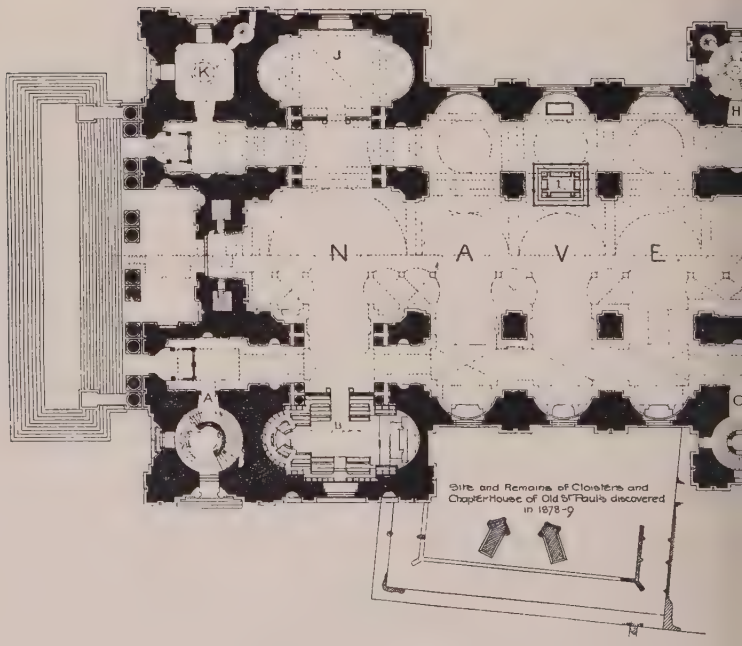
PLAN OF THE CATHEDRAL IN 1926



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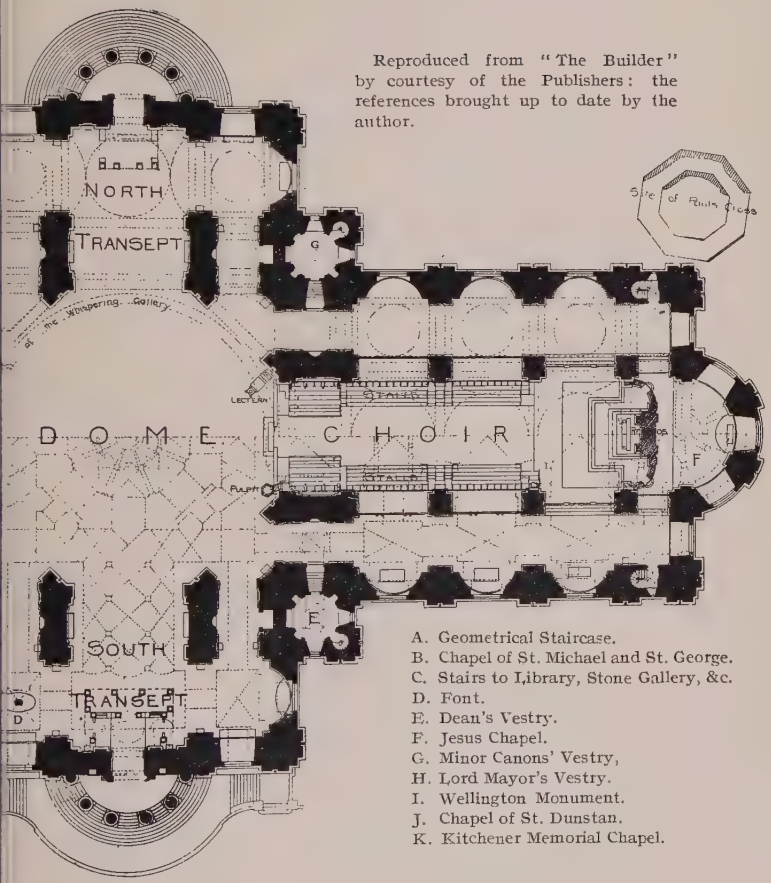

A. Geometrical Staircase.
B. Chapel of St. Michael and St. George.
C. Stairs to Library, Stone Gallery, &c.
D. Font.
E. Dean's Vestry.
F. Jesus Chapel.
G. Minor Canons' Vestry,
H. Lord Mayor's Vestry.
I. Wellington Monument.
J. Chapel of St. Dunstan.
K. Kitchener Memorial Chapel.

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ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

"ONCE upon a time" there lived in Britain a king named Lucius, who founded first the church of St. Peter upon Cornhill and then the Cathedral? No; it is to be feared that this is mere invention. Even the altar of Diana, discovered near the site, proves little, and nothing certain is known of the real origin of St. Paul's until we come to the time of St. Augustine, the consecration of St. Mellitus in 604 to the See of London, and the building and endowment of a church by Ethelbert, King of Kent. Some of this endowment, viz. Tillingham, in Essex, is in the possession of the Dean and Chapter at the present day. St. Mellitus contests with St. Erkenwald (675) the right to be reckoned as the patron saint of London, and, of the two, the latter, who founded the well-known religious houses of Barking and Chertsey, was the more picturesque. The only other outstanding bishop before the Norman Conquest was Dunstan, whose handicrafts and political ability need no recapitulation here.

St. Paul's has never been a monastery, and has always been served by thirty secular major canons, at first under the bishop but later under a dean in the orthodox way, together with twelve minor canons. The last are now only five in number but retain their finely illuminated Charter of Incorporation, their annually elected warden, and their senior and junior cardinals, a curious name for any official connected with the Church in England to-day (p. 141).

In 962 the Cathedral was burnt down, rebuilt and again burnt in 1087. Then was erected in its stead, under the enthusiasm and generosity of Bishops Maurice and Richard de Belmeis I, the longest church in Christendom with, later on, a steeple, the highest in the land and the pride of the nation. Of all this nothing, of course, now remains except a few foundations of the old Chapter House (p. 25) and Paul's Cross (p. 24). One word should perhaps be said about the latter, the place where so many sermons of all shades of opinion were preached, proclamations issued, and heretics tried and condemned. It was the most impartial pulpit that England has ever known. Our only knowledge of what the old Cathedral was like is gained from some none too accurate engravings by Hollar (pp. 17, 24). Fire, mainly due to lightning attracted by the high steeple, was often doing damage, and, like most other cathedrals, St. Paul's was

continually having its ups and downs. In 1213 it witnessed King John surrendering England to the Pope, and it is not surprising that its bishops and Chapter were almost always strongly patriotic, and hostile to the foreigner. It must be confessed that in some respects the records of St. Paul's were not over good. At the end of the fourteenth century Bishop Braybroke had tried to remedy abuses, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century Dean Colet made another, if unsuccessful, attempt to introduce order and discipline. It was during this century that Paul's Walk, i.e. the nave of the Cathedral (p. 212), became scandalously famous as the resort of undesirable characters and a kind of general promenade. Doors north and south turned the Cathedral into a thoroughfare, and irreverence and neglect led the building into sad disrepair. In 1561 came the fire which burnt down the steeple and from which the building never really recovered.

Being secular canons, their property was spared by Henry VIII, but plate, vestments, etc., all disappeared during his reign and that of his successor. Laud tried to restore the Cathedral with the aid of Inigo Jones, who added porches to west end and transepts, but in the Civil War the nave became a stable, and the Great Fire of London, in 1666, finally destroyed the whole building. Sir Christopher Wren, the brilliant mathematician and scientific inventor, was then called in to help. His own favourite design of a Greek cross with dome was rejected in favour of the present building, which is a wonderful piece of work in classical style. The most notable part is the perfectly proportioned dome which, as a matter of fact, is composed of an inner dome seen from the floor level, and a cone rising above to carry the lantern at the top, the latter being hidden by the curved outside covering of lead (see section p. 47). The main building appears to be composed of two storeys, but it must be remembered that the upper half is but a curtain wall screening the clerestory and its buttresses from sight. This "sham" has been much criticized, but may be explained in two ways: (1) Wren always said that roofs (unless they were domes) and buttresses ought not to be seen, and here he carried out that principle (p. 50), and (2) it is now generally recognized that this added weight helps to strengthen the lower walls for their work of withstanding the thrusts of the dome.

Begun in 1675, the quire was dedicated in 1697, and the last stone set in position in 1710, all done during Wren's long life and under practically one bishop, Henry Compton, money being raised mainly by a portion of a tax levied on all coal coming to London. Many of Sir Christopher's master craftsmen are famous: among others, Tijou, the Frenchman, for ironwork; Grinling Gibbon, for carving in wood and stone; Cibber, for statuary and stone carving; and the family of Strong, of Gloucestershire, as contractors for materials and superintendents

of the building. All the stone facings inside and out are from the quarries at Portland. Wren died in 1723, full of years but saddened latterly by unjust treatment at the hands of the king and the committee for the rebuilding, for he was summarily dismissed from his office of surveyor-general, more for political reasons than anything else. Thus it has been said that Wren has been in fashion and out of fashion, and now he is above fashion. Few architects, indeed, of really great buildings ever lived to do what it was granted to Wren to do, namely, to drive up from his house at Hampton Court and sit beneath his glorious dome, contemplating his completed work. He lies buried in the crypt with a fine Latin epitaph on the wall above, of which the last line, translated, runs : " Reader, if you would see his monument, look around you ! "

During the last half of the eighteenth century and early years of the next, the religious life of the Cathedral became very dead, only to be revived under Dean Church, Canon and afterwards Dean Gregory, and Canon Liddon, so that in these latter years St. Paul's has stood out for all that is best in the service and worship of the Church in England and has come to be known as the " parish church of the British Empire." It has always been more especially connected with the " Services," and many a tomb bears the name of a sailor or a soldier distinguished for his victories on behalf of this England of ours.

The following are the chief points to note in connexion with the building :

EXTERIOR

West Front (p. 36). Pediment with " Conversion of St. Paul," by Francis Bird.

South-West Tower. Dean's doorway on south side. In this tower hangs " Great Paul," weighing just on seventeen tons, the heaviest bell in England.

Windows all round the Cathedral. Note swags of fruit and flowers with cherubs' heads beneath the cills.

Old Chapter House remains (p. 25) just before reaching the

South Transept. Fine portico (p. 35). Note Cibber's four delightful " Incense Potts " of stone, and pediment showing the Phoenix with motto *Resurgam*—also Tijou's fine entrance gates (p. 39).

Passing round the east end with the cypher of William and Mary, we reach the modern

Paul's Cross, designed by Sir Reginald A. Blomfield, R.A. (p. 24) and then on to the

North Transept, with another fine portico and pediment ornamented with the royal arms by Grinling Gibbon.

INTERIOR

South Nave Aisle. Entering by the west end, see the

(1) Geometrical staircase in the south-west tower, especially the combination of carved stone and wrought iron (Tijou) at the bottom. One of the best things in the Cathedral; for this a verger is required (p. 55). Adjoining is the

(2) Chapel of St. Michael and St. George, assigned to the Knights of that Order. Carved screen by Jonathan Maine, and iron railing by T. Robinson, both contemporary with the building (p. 56). Further down the aisle is the

(3) "The Light of the World," the well-known picture by Holman Hunt (p. 57).

South Transept.

(1) Font by F. Bird. (2) Window above by Kempe to commemorate the recovery from illness of the Prince of Wales in 1872. (3) Monuments of Nelson and Cornwallis.

South Quire Aisle. Near entrance is the monument to

(1) John Howard, Quaker philanthropist, the first to be put in the Cathedral on the ground floor level.

(2) Gates. These and all other ironwork in the eastern arm (except the chancel gates, which are old work made up with modern) are the beautiful work of Tijou (pp. 59-63), in Sussex iron.

(3) Statues of Bishop Creighton, by Thornycroft, and of John Donne in his shroud, by Nicolas Stone, the latter the only complete pre-fire monument left (p. 60).

Jesus Chapel, behind the high altar; memorial to Dr. Liddon; windows by Kempe (p. 61).

The Quire.

(1) Reredos designed by Messrs. Bodley & Garner (1888) (p. 61); the large candlesticks are copies of the originals from St. Paul's, now in the Cathedral of Ghent (p. 62).

(2) Stalls. Magnificently carved by Grinling Gibbon (p. 64).

(3) Mosaic decoration, 1891–6, in vaulting and saucer domes, by Sir William Richmond, R.A., portraying the Creation of the World and Old Testament types representing allusions to the Coming of Christ and the building of the Temple (p. 149). The decoration of the aisles dates 1900–6.

Dome Area.

(1) Quire railings (the original altar rails) ; very interesting. Just above is the

(2) Organ. One of the finest in England (mostly by Willis). Case designed by Wren and carved by G. Gibbon. The choir has long been famous for its singing (p. 98).

(3) Lectern by Sutton (1706).

(4) Mosaics in each of the four quarter domes (p. 154)—the Crucifixion, Entombment, Resurrection, the Preaching of the Gospel (1896). In the spandrels above, figures by Stevens, Watts, and Britton, put in by Salviati, of Venice (p. 148).

North Transept. Inside porch, with marble pillars supporting epitaph to Wren, which says that he lived for ninety-one years for the public benefit (p. 65).

North Nave.

(1) Wellington Monument ; fine design by Alfred Stevens in Carrara marble and bronze (p. 66). Lord Roberts just opposite. Farther on is

(2) Tomb of General Gordon. " This earth hath borne no simpler, nobler man " (p. 67) ; beyond is

(3) St. Dunstan's Chapel, for daily services and private prayer ; screen and railing same as those in chapel opposite (p. 68).

(4) Kitchener Chapel (1925) (p. 69).

Nave. At east end are two pictures by G. F. Watts, R.A. " Time, Death, and Judgment," and " Peace and Goodwill."

Crypt. Entered from south transept (tickets taken at east end of south nave aisle), runs under the whole of the Cathedral. South aisle—tombs of engineers, Sir C. Wren, and painters (p. 70).

North aisle—formerly given to the parishioners of church of St. Faith, which was pulled down in the thirteenth century (p. 14).

Nave is now called the Chapel of St. Faith. At east end see remains of tombs from earlier church. Going west we reach

(1) Duke of Wellington's tomb, made of two blocks of marble on a granite base, given by Queen Victoria (p. 73), and further on that of

(2) Horatio Viscount Nelson, the casket originally made for Cardinal Wolsey by Benedetto da Rovezzano but never used owing to the great minister's fall from power (p. 74). At the extreme west end is

(3) Wellington's Funeral Car (p. 74).

Returning to ground floor, where tickets were bought, we go up the staircase to the

LIBRARY, containing about 12,000 volumes and 11,000 pamphlets, some of which are very rare.

(1) Brackets, supporting gallery, finely carved by Jonathan Maine.

(2) Show cases containing (*inter alia*) Sir C. Wren's waistcoat and numerous valuable books (p. 121).

From here we go up to the

WHISPERING GALLERY, with fine railing and curious acoustic effect (p. 78), and continuing up we reach the

STONE GALLERY, from which a good view is obtained in all directions. If time allows the visitor should ascend still higher, going up between the cone and outer dome to the

LANTERN AND GOLDEN GALLERY, whence there is a magnificent view. Inside, look through the opening down to the ground floor level about 300 ft. below (p. 80). It is possible by means of ladders to reach from there the base of the

BALL AND CROSS, but not to enter them.

In these present days the condition of the big piers of the dome has given rise to much anxiety and, as the result of many years of testing and experiments, the work of strengthening them to support the 64,000 tons weight of the dome and superstructure, under which they have been giving way, has now to be hastened on. This means, unfortunately, that for the next few years all the ground floor in the dome area, north transept, and quire, will be closed to the public.

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